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Bulgarian Kostov Speaks at Disarmament Session

AU2908185589 Sofia BTA in English 1749 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Geneva, August 29 (BTA)—Mr. Dimitur Kostov, head of the Bulgarian delegation, spoke at a plenary session of the conference on disarmament. He analysed what has been achieved in 1989 and expressed unsatisfaction over the results. The Bulgarian representative called on all the member-states, and most of all on those with developed chemical industry, to activate their practical work on the editing of the draft-convention on banning and elimination of chemical weapons. The chief problems that have to be resolved are the control and monitoring system, the order for liquidation of the stock-piled chemical weapons and the executive council of the future organization. The Bulgarian delegation approved of the results of the consultations on these problems. Useful conclusions have been drawn in certain countries from the national test inspectorates. Hope was expressed that the next stage of the experiment—international test inspectorates—will bring things closer to the model of monitoring and control of the future convention.

The Bulgarian representative expressed regret that for the last 10 years the conference on disarmament has not managed to coordinate a single international agreement. Stagnation has spread over all items of the agenda devoted to the nuclear topic. The way out is in the combining and harmonizing of the bilateral and multilateral negotiations between states. It is high time to start thorough discussions on the halting of the nuclear arms race and on nuclear disarmament. The conference on disarmament should adopt a stage by stage programme whose final aim should be the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

Mr Kostov expressed Bulgaria's readiness for the search of a common compromise resolution for guaranteeing of the non-nuclear states against the use or threat with nuclear weapons. As an author of one of the resolutions adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on this question, Bulgaria is ready to work at the forthcoming session for the working out of one compromise resolution on the so called negative guarantees for security.

The Bulgarian delegation is of the opinion that the application of wide measures of trust and cooperation, as well as the openness and predictability of the actions of the states in the space sphere, could help considerably for the prevention of the arms race in this sphere. She proposes the institutionalization of the participation of space experts in the discussion or to establish a group with an open membership which could provide assistance if necessary at the discussion of a number of juridical and technological aspects. High assessment was given to the Soviet proposal for the establishing of an international agency for space observation.

In conclusion it was stressed that the conference on disarmament should turn into a practical, flexible and reliable instrument for resolution of the big tasks standing before it. To this end it is necessary to make serious improvements in its functioning.

Warsaw Pact Proposes Cuts at Vienna CFE Talks

ADN Reports Proposal

LD2809122589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1056 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—At the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe, the Warsaw Pact states have presented a new working paper on the question of combat aircraft of the tactical and frontline forces and on combat helicopters.

The working document was presented today by Ambassador Klaus- Dieter Ernst, head of the GDR delegation, on behalf of the pact states. It is proposed that NATO and the Warsaw Pact reduce their potentials to 4,700 combat aircraft each, and to 1,900 combat helicopters each.

No individual country would be allowed to have more than 3,400 combat aircraft and 1,500 combat helicopters, and of these no more than 1,200 combat aircraft and 600 helicopters could be stationed in the reduction area abroad.

Those interceptor-aircraft, which are exclusively intended to ward off the threat posed by strategic weapons, and sea-based attack aircraft, and cruise missiles, which have a purely defensive nature, were excluded. However, the Warsaw Pact states are prepared to include these aircraft in an information and verification system, and to agree to a ceiling if the threat potentials that they are supposed to ward off are not increased.

Ambassador Ernst stressed that in this way the Warsaw Pact states have clearly broadened the scope of combat aircraft to be included in the reduction process.

In this they had endeavored to take into account the positions of the NATO states put forward during the negotiations hitherto, and to find a solution which satisfies both NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

This is also apparent in the fact that the ceilings for combat aircraft and combat helicopters aimed for by the two sides are now very close or are even in agreement. NATO, for example, called for the relevant figures to be 5,700 combat aircraft and 1,900 combat helicopters on each side.

The GDR representative said that the working paper that has been tabled is intended to help solve one of the most important disputed issues of negotiations so far, and to contribute to achieving in 1990 a substantive agreement on conventional arms in Europe, in line with the political statements of the leading representatives of the two alliances. Ambassador Ernst expressed the hope that this far-reaching readiness for compromise on the part of the socialist countries will meet with a similar concession from NATO.

CSSR's Balcar Praises Proposal

AU0210144589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Sep 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Warsaw Pact's Disarmament Proposal in Vienna; A Step Toward the Convergence of Standpoints"]

[Excerpts] Vienna (CTK correspondent)—Yesterday [28 September], at the Vienna talks of the 23 member states of the two military-political alliances on conventional armed forces in Europe, the GDR delegation, on behalf of the Warsaw Pact countries, submitted a new disarmament proposal concerning tactical air forces and combat helicopters. [passage omitted]

From the very beginning of the Vienna talks, air forces have been one of the key issues on which the stances of the Warsaw Pact states and NATO have fundamentally differed. This was said to CTK's Vienna correspondent by Ladislav Balcar, head of the Czechoslovak delegation, in connection with the proposal of the socialist states. "As is known, NATO did not want to include air forces in the reduction of armaments at all. After an initiative from U.S. President George Bush to include air forces in the agreement, the Warsaw Pact has now taken another step in the direction of the convergence of standpoints. Regarding Czechoslovakia, the proposal concerns the aircraft of the SU and MIG types. We hope that the NATO countries will now also show a similar constructive step regarding the issue of the Soviet airplanes for antiaircraft defense that are stationed deep within its territory, which do not fulfill the tasks of a tactical airforce, and which are designed to protect strategic targets," the Czechoslovak ambassador said.

Balcar Addresses Conference

LD2909195889 Prague CTK in English 1505 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Vienna Sept 29 (CTK)—Head of a Czechoslovak delegation to a plenary session of the Conference on Confidence-and Security-Building Measures in Europe stressed here today the importance of bilateral measures taken by the participating states to strengthen confidence in the military sphere, and said that Czechoslovakia has expressed its readiness to take similar measures.

He stated that the provision of the Helsinki Final Act on the exchange of military delegations has not yet been fully observed. In this context, he appreciated the good neighbourly contacts from the military point of view between Czechoslovakia and Austria and stressed that Czechoslovakia intends to further promote these ties also with other western countries.

Balcar also expressed satisfaction with preparations for a seminar on military doctrines in which all the 35 Helsinki Final Act signatories will participate and which should take place in Vienna next January.

GDR Urges Doctrine Seminar

LD2909150789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1154 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—On Friday at the Vienna negotiations on trust- and confidence-building measures in Europe, the GDR proposed on behalf of the Warsaw Pact states that the work in preparation for a seminar on military doctrines be intensified. At the conferences of the [Warsaw Pact] Political Consulative Committee in May 1987 in Berlin and in July 1989 in Bucharest the socialist countries emphasized their interest in the discussion of military doctrines and underlined the necessity of such discussions. The Vienna disarmament negotiations could have a stimulating effect on the discussion of the topic in all its aspects, including the further development of military doctrines and concepts that are based on purely defensive principles.

The stage reached in drafting an agenda for the seminar is encouraging. On the basis of a compromise paper presented by the Austrian coordinator of the ad hoc working group in preparation for the seminar, an effort should be made to reach agreement on the agenda during this round of negotiations so that the seminar can take place in January next year. This necessitates flexibility and a readiness to compromise.

Technical Congress Opens, Husak Sends Message

AU2809202789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Sep 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Engineers, Society, and the Environment; Technical Congress'89 Opened in Prague"]

[Excerpt] Prague (CTK)—The Technical Congress'89, held under the motto "Engineers, Society, and the Environment," opened in Prague on Monday [25 September]. It is organized by the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technical Society, in cooperation with the World Federation of Engineering Organizations.

During the 3-day congress, more than 500 experts from 25 countries will discuss in three specialized sections concepts of urban development and the engineers' role in that process, the care of historical monuments and their integration into the life of modern large cities, as well as problems of rural settlement.

The opening of the congress was attended by a delegation of the CSSR Government and the CSSR National Front Central Committee headed by Karel Julis, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development.

Karel Julis read a message from CSSR President Gustav Husak, under whose auspices the congress is taking place. The message states that the Czechoslovak public assesses the meeting highly, a meeting which is guided by the endeavor to contribute to solving one of the most serious global problems facing mankind. Together with you, we realize our share of the responsibility for the development of the contemporary world, in which peace, the security of nations, and life as such are inseparable from lasting care for the creation and protection of the environment.

Czechoslovakia proceeds from the premise that contemporary global problems must be dealt with jointly, by means of dialogue, understanding, and cooperation between all interested states and nations. This is also the aim of the initiative of the CSSR premier addressed to the neighboring countries, the gist of which is the joint consideration of effective international undertakings conducive to solving the serious environmental problems in central Europe. We deem such an approach to the coexistence of neighbors in Europe, but also anywhere else in the world, to be necessary, as it contributes to deepening trust, understanding, and security among nations. Your congress is taking place at a time when the world community realizes more and more urgently the need for more active international cooperation in the sphere of environmental care. The endorsement of more energetic steps in support of its creation, protection, and international safety is growing. We welcome these efforts and take an active part in them.

In his message Gustav Husak expressed the conviction that the congress would contribute to the finding of new solutions and to the practical application of everything that can be accomplished in the creation and protection of the environment through international cooperation between the members of engineering organizations. [passage omitted]

3-Party Initiated Non-Nuclear Conference Begins

Hungary's Nyers Addresses Conference

LD2909204289 Budapest MTI in English 1525 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 29 (MTI)—The third experts' conference on cooperation between the non-nuclear states under a Hungarian-Italian-Finnish initiative got under way in Budapest on Friday.

Present were representatives of the three initiators—the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Finnish Social Democratic Party and the Italian Socialist Party—other parties from the three countries, including Hungarian opposition parties, and organizations from the FRG and Poland.

After Csaba Tabajdi, head of the Hungarian delegation and deputy chief of staff at the HSWP CC, had declared the conference open, the participants were greeted by Rezso Nyers, HSWP president. He welcomed the fact that the scope of participants had expanded, and recalled that the three initiators had launched coordinating talks three years ago, holding the first experts' conference in January, 1988.

Mr Nyers said cooperation had now reached a turning point with the involvement in the dialogue of various forces of the Warsaw Treaty and the Nato countries and the expansion of the range of topics. The participation of Hungarian and Polish political factors indicated another turning point.

Concerning perestroyka in Hungary, Mr Nyers emphasized that the HSWP was committed to carrying out the changes fully, paving the way for a democratic transition, and creating an independent foreign policy. To this end, the Hungarian parties should reach a consensus and put aside their rivalry, the HSWP president said.

Kalevi Sorsa, speaker of the Finnish Parliament and head of the disarmament committee of the Socialist International, who was heavily involved in launching the tripartite dialogue, was appreciative of the achievements in disarmament and the fruitful dialogue between the great powers. These favourable processes, however, do not make the continuation of such multilateral talks pointless, he said.

Mr Sorsa went on to say that Europe has arrived at the threshold of a new political era: Political forces are not only issuing declarations, but continuing a sincere dialogue as well. There is dialogue not only between governments, but between people, too. Conference participants are seeking to contribute to cooperation in Europe and to the new, common future of the continent, he said.

On behalf of the Italian Socialist Party, Paolo Vittorelli analysed the close inter-relationship between political and military stability, and pointed out that detente was only possible when democracy, freedom and a spirit of general tolerance are present.

The participants then held in camera discussions on the general state of East-West cooperation, disarmament, and the Vienna talks.

Hungary's Independence Demanded

LD3009221189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] [Announcer] The creation of a democratic Hungary is a common European objective. This was said, among other things, by the representative of the Italian Socialist Party at the international news conference which was held today at the conclusion of the conference known as the three-party initiative.

[Correspondent] For the first time since 1948, seven Hungarian parties have represented Hungary at an international conference. What lessons did this meeting have?

[Unidentified speaker] Everyone was able to preserve his own, characteristic party [illegible]icy profile. At the same time, in spite of all the differences of opinion, there was success in shaping the main outlines, for example as regards neutrality, leaving the Warsaw Pact, in which every Hungarian political force takes into account the restrictions, the limitations.

[Correspondent] It emerged at this meeting that it could only be a strategic, long-term objective, is that not so?

[Unidentified speaker] What, however, can be set, and is to be set, as an immediate objective, is Hungarian independence.

[Announcer] And how the world changes! The Polish United Workers' Party representative considered their leaving the military organization to be conceivable. However, at the news briefing the Solidarity member pointed out among other things that they would meet their obligation and remain in the Warsaw Treaty.

Meeting Participants Brief Press

LD0110002189 Budapest MTI in English 2130 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 30 (MTI)—The Budapest expert conference of the tripartite initiative urging the unity of non-nuclear states did successful work, senior representatives of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], the Finnish Social Democratic Party and the Italian Socialist Party told a press conference, which was also attended by representatives of the Hungarian opposition parties and the Finnish, Italian, West German and Polish political organizations invited to the expert conference.

It was announced that the fourth conference of the tripartite initiative would be hosted by the Finnish Social Democratic Party in the spring of 1990. The parties and organizations represented in Budapest were also invited to the event.

Kalevi Sorsa, speaker of the Finnish parliament and a master-minder of the initiative, emphasized that the participants, stepping over the ideological boundaries, clashed their views on the problems of the continent, and the expansion of cooperation in Europe, which created new opportunities for the development of inter-party relations. Mr Sorsa termed the Hungarian processes as of historic importance, and advantageous for both the country and Europe as a whole.

Paolo Vittorelli, a leader of the Italian Socialist Party, stressed that the various political parties may promote the democratic processes of some countries by more intensive international economic cooperation and the elimination of military threat.

Csaba Tabajdi, head of the HSWP delegation and deputy head of department at the HSWP Central Committee pointed out that, for the first time since 1948, Hungary was represented by seven parties of equal rights.

AWP Central Committee Eighth Plenum Held

AU2609152689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Communique on the meeting of the Eighth Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee plenum:.

The Eighth AWP Central Committee plenum met on 25-26 September 1989, under the direction of Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary. In the name of the Politburo, Comrade Lenka Cuko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary to the AWP Central Committee, delivered the report on further strengthening the party and improving its work in accordance with the demands of the times. The plenum discussed these problems at length. Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, made an important speech at the plenum.

Eighth AWP Central Committee plenum, Tirana, 26 September 1989.

Cuko Report to Plenum

AU0310140189 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Sep 89 p 1-3

["Report of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo, Delivered by Comrade Lenka Cuko," at the eighth Albanian Workers Party Central Committee plenum in Tirana on 25-26 September in Tirana: "On Further Strengthening the Party and Improving Its Work in Accordance With the Demands of the Times"]

[Text] The problem we are discussing at this Central Committee meeting is of special importance. It concerns the further strengthening of the party, which is the guiding force of the people and a sure guarantor of continuity in the successful construction of socialism in accordance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Our party is strong, and has been tempered in numerous victorious battles; it has a high political and ideological level and a sound organization, and is capable of leading and promoting our inexorable development. The party and the people's power gave given freedom to the people, have made them their own masters and masters of their own country, and have shown them the road of progress, leading them from one victory to the next. Everything that we have achieved, all our victories and the happiness we enjoy today are based on the struggle and efforts of the people led by the party.

Led by the party, the people liberated the country, overcame the general backwardness inherited from the past, and radically transformed every aspect of life. Under the party's leadership, our economy is developing at a rapid and stable pace, the living standard of the population is constantly improving, and our socialist system is becoming increasingly stronger. Albania's position in the international arena has never been stronger. We now have a powerful basis and considerable opportunities for a broader, more rapid, and more qualitative development in the future. Our achievements up till now have not been attained easily. We have had to make progress in the teeth of a bitter class struggle against domestic and foreign enemies. We have had to overcome numerous difficulties, but they have been confronted and successfully overcome, because we have always had the party to lead us. It is therefore our primary task to protect the party with our very lives, constantly tempering and strengthening it, and further consolidating the unity of the people around the party. Utilizing our rich theoretical and practical experience to the full, let us further raise the level of the party's work, let us further improve its methods and procedures, and let us give the party's work more vitality and a fresh and stronger impetus.

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The leading role of the party has been and remains the decisive factor in the successful construction of socialism. Our experience shows that the leading role of the party and of the workers class in the development and consolidation of socialism is not only not declining, but is increasingly growing and becoming stronger, and that no fundamental problem, present or future, can be resolved without the party's leadership.

The modern revisionists have launched a savage campaign to revise and even deny the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the party and socialism. Having marketed the "theory" of the party's transformation into "a purely ideological factor," and having replaced the Marxist-Leninist theory on the party with the theory of "the party of all the people," the revisionists have now come to the point of adopting outright bourgeois theses on political and ideological pluralism, as is happening in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, and elsewhere. "Theories" about power-sharing with other parties, about relinquishing the leadership of the state or the economy, about transition to a multiparty system, on emancipation from Marxism-Leninism as a ruling ideology, and so forth, have all become the present foundation of antisocialism. With "perestroyka" and "glasnost," Gorbachev has stripped away every mask that disguised the steps intended to restore capitalism and reform the party into an ordinary bourgeois and social democratic party. Our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha long ago foresaw and warned of the consequences of following the road of treason to Marxism-Leninism. It is our duty to recognize, expose, and oppose these pseudo-theories with scientific arguments.

Socialism is the achievement of the masses. As Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "It is built by the masses of the people; directives are carried out by the masses of the people; the justice of the party's line is guaranteed by the people's participation, and mistakes are corrected with the people's help. Nothing can be done without the people." However, the masses cannot perform their function and act in a spontaneous fashion. They need the

party and its work to persuade them, mobilize them, set them in motion, and inspire their deeds.

Socialist society develops constantly, overcoming numerous problems, while new ones emerge that always require solutions. Following the dialectical development of society, the party must always blaze trails for constant progress, prepare the ground for further development and improvement in all aspects of its life, and find suitable forms of leadership and management, so that, as the driving force of the country's life, it may function like a perfect mechanism at all its levels. The party has always taken great care to consider and resolve problems of relations between the party and the state power and between the party and the staff in the Army, and has adopted measures to constantly perfect them. Despite this, it is very important today that we should work even better to eliminate signs of parallelism, which may even lead to party organs usurping the work of state and economic bodies. It often happens that party committees deal directly with matters that are the province of state and economic bodies, even with problems of the supply of materials and technology. It is often difficult to tell the difference, from the agenda or the way problems are handled, between a party meeting and a meeting of a people's council, a cooperative board, the management board of an enterprise, or some other body. However, state bodies also exert pressure on party organs, involving them in economic problems that they should deal with themselves. Even ministries often communicate with first secretaries in the districts instead of with the sections of the executive committees of districts and regions. Certain joint activities of party, state, and economic bodies are becoming of overweening importance, thus blurring distinctions between people's different work and responsibilities.

The attitudes and thinking that all this fosters must not be underestimated, because they weaken the party's leading role and reduce the effectiveness of the work of its organs and basic organizations, leading to a decline in the responsibility and functions of state and economic bodies. Such cases are often explained by the weakness of the work of state and economic bodies and other organizations, or the incompetence of some cadres. However, this cannot justify parallelism. The party leads the entire system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and must enable every one of its instruments to perform its own duties, opening horizons to them, mobilizing them, supervising them, and holding them to account for their work. If there are incompetent cadres in these organs, party organs and organizations must replace them with capable people, and not simply do their work for them and become their accomplices.

Party organs should be to the fore in performing our tasks, confronting state and economic bodies and all other organizations with important problems relevant to today and the future.

Because of the scale on which our economy now operates and the many and complex problems and tasks which its development involves, we need a more profound understanding and a better conduct of management in the economy, with "pen in hand." The brisk development of production and the refinement of relations in production cannot be grasped or achieved without skills or without the active participation of science and the large-scale application of advanced experience. There can be no progress in the economy or any other field without the high standard of culture which corresponds to our level of development in general and the needs of the future. Party organizations and committees must deal with such major problems and should provide solutions to them on time.

Party committees and basic organizations in general are working carefully to analyze and implement party directives. During the past 2-3 years, they have worked well to implement the party's directive on creating and consolidating small herds and plots, in order to resolve as quickly as possible the question of the peasantry's food supply. They have clarified, stimulated, and controlled the implementation of this directive. But there have been plenty of cases in which party organizations have dealt with questions pertaining to the brigades themselves, instead of focusing their attention on explaining and making sure the directive is understood. As a result, misunderstandings have arisen. Some cadres have hesitated to hand over to the brigades the land they need to grow forage crops for their small herds, or to hand over the weaker cattle, and in some cases have failed to conside. the small herds of pigs and turkeys as being collective property.

The Third AWP Central Committee Plenum stated plainly that every district must be made responsible for meeting the needs of the people and the market with agricultural and livestock products, mainly from its own production. Likewise, the Sixth AWP Central Committee Plenum stressed that every district must draw up its own foreign currency balance sheet and find ways and means of keeping it in surplus. However, even now, when we are drawing up the 1990 plans, there are districts which present demands for supplies of butter, cheese, vegetables, fruit, and even eggs, biscuits, or other such items.

One rightly asks why the work of the party's organs and organizations has been so superficial. Why are some cadres more at pains to justify shortfalls in meat production and to ask for them to be made good by the central authorities than to find ways and means to increase the stocks of pigs and poultry for slaughter, and of fish in our reservoirs and lakes? Vlore, Fier, and Lushnje have enough lakes to cover 20-30 percent of their needs for meat through supplying fish, instead of 3-5 percent up till now, if they only used them for fish-farming and obtained a minimum yield of between 10-15 quintals per hectare (Laknas and Kavaje obtain 35 quintals per hectare). Goals are met when the party works closely with the people and persuades them of the need to solve problems according to our specific opportunities and conditions, as the experience of Qelze in Puke District, Pajove in Elbasan District, Permet, and so forth shows.

The AWP Central Committee has stressed the need for a more rapid perfection of production relations, because experience shows that some aspects of production relations have become outdated and are hindering our progress in the fields of production and distribution. The seventh AWP Central Committee plenum opened up clear horizons in this field, but hesitation, timidity, the concept of "keeping in line," and the fear of violating principles that are no principles continue to hinder the party's work and the initiative of the masses.

A number of forms of organization, management, remuneration, and incentives are currently being successfully applied in agricultural cooperatives to stimulate the intensification of labor and production. It is obvious that there is insufficient concern and concrete effort in this field in other branches of the economy, and that party organs and organizations in various branches are not tackling closely the question of perfecting economic relations in the way that they should. What are the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance, the study and research institutes, and other departments waiting for?

Why are they not striving to find new ways and means that will further our economy's development? The party organizations in these bodies must take the lead, and encourage and inspire cadres and specialists to more militant labor in important issues relating to the country's progress, combating signs of bureaucracy, technocracy, and superficiality.

More positive results in plan fulfillment have been recorded this year. The general industrial production plan hitherto has been met more than 100 percent, as have the construction and soil improvement plans. Tasks have also been performed according to the plan in the communal services, transportation, and trade sectors, while export results have been better than in any previous year.

In comparison with the last 2-3 years, we have achieved a significant increase in agricultural production in all crops. Statistics predict a better performance in the plan and better production and distribution from the small herds and fields. It is also expected that the initiatives, mass actions, and movements supported by the Central Committee will successfully achieve their targets. These results testify to optimism, a high level of mobilization, and to creative work on the part of communists and working people.

However, in some sectors of the economy and in districts such as Berat, Diber, Librazhd, Lushnje, and so forth, there are shortcomings in the fulfillment of plans and acute problems, which must not be covered up by the overall results. The party organs and organizations are therefore required to perfect organization and to mobilize all resources in order to prevent all forms of damage and misappropriation, to fulfill all tasks, and to make efficient use of the economic levers of remuneration, emulation, moral and material incentives, and so forth.

II

Fulfilling tasks requires us to increase the role, responsibility, dynamism, and agility of the party basic organizations and of the communists who are active in their ranks.

This demand is becoming more imperative we think of the tasks that confront us, and the fact that there are basic organizations that are not up to the demands of the times.

There are 43 basic organizations in the agricultural enterprises of Kruje District with 586 communists, but they have still not overcome their backwardness. There are no less than 194 party basic organizations in Mat District with 2,484 communists, but there are still problems, shortcomings, and failures to meet the general industrial production plan in chrome, agriculture, fruit, vegetables, and stockraising. There are other similar examples elsewhere in party organizations in factories, the administration, and in institutions. These shortcomings also relate to the work done by the ministries to help the base. The districts have been warned about their work; the party organizations in the ministries must therefore acquaint themselves with the problems and take time to hold to account communists and cadres who are not carrying out their duties properly, making them face up to their responsibilities.

It is now more necessary than ever to have basic organizations possessing initiative and capable of independent action, basic organizations able to cope with every task and to guide all our political and ideological life, economic and defense problems, and so forth. In this respect, some shortcomings are noticeable. There are basic organizations and even party committees in districts and army units that fail to act on their own initiative, but wait for directives from above. This also happened in the discussion and analysis of the materials of the Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum and its letter.

These shortcomings can be ascribed to the standard of work in basic organizations themselves; in some aspects of our work, we have become used to waiting for instructions. Party committees often issue excessive recommendations, to the point of paternalism in relation to the basic organizations. Between 60-70 percent of the work of basic organizations is in one way or another suggested to them, not to say imposed from above. Not only whole fields of activity, but how topics are to be dealt with, can be prescribed and recommended, to the point of uniformity. Party committees have even been known to issue "strict" instructions to basic organizations to meet every 10 days or every weekend to analyze the fulfillment of production norms. Such practices sap the initiative of basic organizations and weaken their sense of responsibility and the effectiveness of their work.

There will always be instructions and recommendations from above, but an excess of them has turned "waiting for orders" into a bad habit. Party committees must

therefore make a qualitative improvement in their work in analyzing guidelines and directives with basic organizations and their secretaries, in order to inspire the latter and make them act upon them with greater awareness. Work with the basic organizations, keeping them abreast with news, and monitoring problems through them, are vital aspects of the work of party committees. It often happens that committees deal more with party bureaus, secretaries, officials, the administration, and cadres than directly with basic organizations. There are even tendencies to discount basic organizations. As has emerged from inspection tours, there are party committee secretaries, including first secretaries, who rarely visit basic organizations, and seldom meet communists at meetings and other activities.

There is a need for a more profound concept of party membership and the tasks that stem from it. Party organs and basic organizations continually deal with the problems arising in this field, and this is reflected in the prevailing healthy situation. However, the vanguard role and militant spirit of communists must assume a broader conception, role, and force. The vanguard role and militancy of communists is not everywhere up to the level required by the problems and tasks of the times. Last year, 298 party members and 89 candidate members were expelled from the party, while 273 were demoted from member to candidate member, and 2,433 were disciplined with other sanctions of an educational nature. These measures were taken because of poor work and weak organization in the production field, antisocialist attitudes to labor, moral lapses of various kinds, failure to maintain unity, and so forth.

The party and Comrade Enver have analyzed the qualities that should characterize a communist. These qualities are unchanging, but the times demand that they should be further enriched and developed. Communists today should be heralds of the most advanced ideas and opinions, creative in their performance of party directives, increasingly characterized by wisdom and courage, and in the vanguard of the masses in acting on the party's instructions. The duties of party membership cannot in any way be reduced to the demands society makes of working people and citizens as a whole. As fighters for the great cause of socialism, communists must be in the vanguard of the ideological struggle and must place the interests of the people, the country, and socialism above all else. Everyone must combat within himself any tendency to withdraw into a narrow petit bourgeois world, or to use party membership for personal and undeserved profits. Being required to set an example, party members must have a lofty sense of responsibility for labor, problems, and people in their sector or brigade, in the district of their town, in their village, and everywhere. Not all communists possess these qualities, which must constantly be cultivated and forged. There are some who are apathetic, and fail to keep pace with the times. This means that party organizations must carry out a more effective educational work with communists, entrust them with concrete tasks, and demand more of them. The strictest exigence is required toward those communists who fail to act in conformity with the party statutes or who are not up to their tasks, up to their expulsion from the party.

Closely tied to these demands, new admissions to the party are of primary importance, particularly their quality. Every year between 5,000-5,500 candidates, the best of the working people, are admitted into the party. In recent years, better and more careful work has been done on new admissions, combating tendencies to work behind closed doors and for some secretaries of party basic organizations to monopolize the question of new members. The views of working people and especially the youth organization have been sounded more extensively, broadening the work done on admissions.

However, there are plenty of problems that require deeper work. There are signs of sectarianism and liberalism, that lower the admission standards, and there have been cases where too much attention is paid to political and family background at the expense of a candidate's individual qualities. There is also a degree of confusion over age of admission, social background, a candidate's probation period, and so on. This means that there is a need for close study and application of the criteria of the statutes and other instructions, as well as better work along the above-mentioned lines.

In order to keep the party membership fresh, it will be important in the future to especially concentrate new admissions on younger age groups. However, this guideline must not become an obstacle to admitting to the party dedicated and progressive older people, still less when the average age of admission of employed people to the party is 39 years, an age of both freshness and maturity. There have also been improvements in the Politburo's instructions on prescribing the social origin and position of communists and cadres, in order to better reflect certain changes corresponding to our current level of development. At present, storemen, policemen, teachers, lecturers, scientists, workers in the administration, and production engineers, are considered as employees, regardless of the kind of work they do. A more scientific consideration of this problem will also be important with regard to applications for new admissions to the party, because, in some sectors, not enough has been done in recent decades to obtain new members from the ranks of the intelligentsia, which forms a much larger section of society than before, a fact not reflected proportionately in the composition of the party. There is no reason why, in the last 3 years, Mirdite should only have admitted five highly qualified specialists from the agricultural cooperatives, Tepelene eight, Kolonje six, and so forth, when there is a great need for such people. In certain other districts, such as Tirana, Vlore, and elsewhere, there must be more attention to admitting new party members from the intelligentsia, for many present members will reach retirement age in the next few years.

With regard to this question, the Politburo will discuss and make the necessary changes regarding the definition of communists' and cadres' social position during the first 6 months of this year.

Problems have also arisen concerning increasing the effectiveness of party candidates, especially as regards the places where they are to serve their probation period, their involvement in work in production, their intended objectives, and the question of encouraging the initiative of basic party organizations in these matters. The Secretariat of the party Central Committee will analyze this problem and make the appropriate improvements in the guidelines at present in force.

Some improvements are also necessary in the structure of basic organizations. Time has shown that, in agricultural cooperatives, it has been beneficial for basic organizations to be created at village level, for the village is increasingly assuming the character of a production unit. After the comments of Comrade Ramiz Alia in Gramsh District, there have been some improvements in this direction, and people everywhere are talking about the usefulness of this kind of structure. However, this experience must be examined more closely, because there are villages where this cannot be achieved.

There is also a need to study the shape of basic organizations in enterprises, because there are many instances where the tendency to create basic organizations according to production unit has been overdone, leading to the fragmentation and weakness of the organization. Let us build on our experience and spread the practice of general meetings of communists in institutions, agricultural cooperatives, and enterprises, insisting that bureaus and their secretaries should concern themselves more with real party work and give more tangible help to increasing the role of the basic organization within the party.

In the countryside, youth organizations are usually formed at brigade level. Despite some examples of good work, it is often true that they are lukewarm in their internal activities, and that there is little ideopolitical and social activity at village level. There are even cases where the youth organization's activities simply become identical with those of the brigade, which weakens the role and structure of the organization, as well as damaging work done to enforce the youth organization's regulations. The Central Committee of the youth organization should study this problem, so that the youth organization's structure should respond better to today's demands.

III

Our party is built on and follows Marxist-Leninist principles and organizational standards. Party organs and organizations have done thorough work to rigorously grasp and apply these principles, which have lent great energy and vigor to our efforts to successfully carry out our tasks and to make the party's leading role a reality. Nevertheless, there are still shortcomings in our practical work that call for grater efforts in understanding and implementing party principles in a creative way, in accordance with dialectics, our revolutionary changes, and current tasks.

It is highly important to properly understand and implement the democratic centralism which pervades the entire life of party organs and basic organizations. The party has always stressed the need for the broad development of democracy among the masses, so that the masses speak out, discuss, state their views freely, make suggestions, and criticize. To achieve this goal in society, party organizations should also combat signs of fossilization in people's thinking, especially among communists themselves. People have their own views about innovations, and have their comments and suggestions to make about improvements on the revolutionary road; they must express these, just as they are and in the way that they feel them. However, they are inhibited in this by the shadow of their superior, fear of making a mistake, and so forth. It is the duty of party organs and basic organizations to encourage and embolden communists and working people and to harshly condemn all signs of the suppression of constructive debate and the free exchange of views.

Democracy in the party is one thing, but it also presupposes centralism, particularly in the struggle to implement the party's directives. Shortcomings have been noticed in this process. Many decisions and pledges are made at the beginning of and during the year are reported to the Central Committee by the district committees, but many of them remain unfulfilled. This phenomenon subverts the discipline and the spirit of militancy the times demand; the party's plenums and bureaus should therefore devote more attention to consolidating their work, tightening supervision and accountability, and setting a better example of how to meet the demands of democratic centralism.

Party forums in districts and military units have gained considerable experience in management and organization. There have been improvements in the social composition of those elected to office, and their sense of responsibility and active involvement in performing their tasks have increased. In recent years, apart from the three or four statutory plenums, the practice of special meetings to supervise the enactment of decisions has been introduced, to considerable benefit.

It seems that many guests take part in the plenums of district party committees. At the plenum of the Elbasan District Party Committee last year to discuss the fulfillment of the 6-month plan and prescribe tasks for the remainder of the year, there were 59 guests alongside 81 elected delegates. It is not only at plenums, but at meetings of party bureaus in districts, that between 15-20 guests are sometimes invited. There are even cases where they comprise the majority of speakers. Ten people, but only four elected delegates spoke at the plenum of Durres District Party Committee to discuss the tasks set by the Seventh Party Central Committee

Plenum. Of the 11 who spoke at the Berat District Party Committee plenum on export problems, only two were elected delegates. There have been other examples elsewhere. These guests to some extent stand in the way of elected delegates, who have come to the plenum to express the actual views of the base; hamper the debate, smother criticism and self-criticism, and mean that problems are examined mostly from a technical and administrative angle. This reduces the role of the elected delegates, "elbows them aside," and "leaves them in the shade." This means that the atmosphere at a plenum meeting comes to resemble that of a party aktiv.

There have always been and will continue to be guests at forums. Their participation and their speeches have often been essential and have helped to improve the quality of forums. What we are criticizing here is exaggeration, certain ways of thinking that encourage exaggeration, and the underestimation of elected delegates on the part of working people of the apparatus. Exaggeration is often "justified" by a supposed need to raise the standard of debate and cover the district geographically, but in fact arises out of a desire to lighten the work load in analyzing and acting on decisions. It could not be said that the elected delegates were below par at the plenum of Korce Party District Committee plenum, where, out of 19 speakers, only four were members of the plenum. It would be a good thing to confine the number of invited guests to a plenum to a reasonable number, and to those whom the plenum and the party secretaries really need.

The standards of elected delegates has continually risen, and about 55 percent of them have now been through higher education. Nevertheless, there are also elected delegates who fail to meet the standards of such forums. It is not uncommon for us to experience difficulty in choosing a district party committee secretary from their ranks. Let us therefore take care to bring the best workers, cooperativists, and intellectuals into the party leadership, and understand properly and follow the guidelines on the social composition of forums, without lapsing into formalism. The party conferences to be held this year must work carefully to choose the most able people.

It is important for elected delegates to discuss and make decisions as colleagues, and to be continually active in carrying out decisions that have been made. This demands investigation of how this can be put on a better-organized footing. It would be good to encourage those who have been elected to be more active, as has been done in Sarande, Korce, and some other districts. Let there be more criticism, self-criticism, and demands for accountability at meetings of plenums of bureaus and basic organizations. Let the bureaus and party committee secretaries continually report back to plenums, and by their example and in various other ways encourage elected delegates to do likewise.

It is striking that plenums and bureaus have not taken the initiative in identifying the shortcomings of leading cadres. Whispers circulate about them, but people only speak out after intervention from above. Although these are not frequent occurrences, this is shows that relations among elected members of forums are not quite what they should be.

Party committees and secretaries could discuss more as colleagues, without giving such discussions formal shape. They should involve themselves more than hitherto in supervising the enactment of the decisions of district and local party bureaus and plenums, and call for more reports from party bureaus and base organization, as well as sectors of the party committee apparatus.

There is also room for improvement in the electoral procedure within the party, for example by including more candidates than will be elected on the list for posts in the bureau or posts as secretary and deputy secretary of basic organizations, and the party bureaus in enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, and institutions. Let us elect those who obtain the most votes in secret ballots, but at least 50 percent of the votes. Secretaries and deputy secretaries could be elected directly by the basic organization.

In order to ensure the necessary renewal of elected party cadres, more managing cadres should be trained, and, in order to shield them from the pressure that is exerted on them, it is recommended that persons elected to positions should serve for no longer than 4-5 years.

IV

The line of the masses is a major issue of principle which increases and multiplies the party's vigor and strength. Let us constantly return to this principle, which is of great value for both the present and the future.

The party and the people need close social ties and lively contact. "When communists go among the people as their sons," Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasizes, "when cadres seek out and respect the views of workers, cooperativists, and specialists, and when secretaries of party committees visit brigades in the fields, cooperativists watering their crops at night, soldiers in their training grounds, and so forth, the people open their hearts to them."

However, people's thinking is often discounted, the voice of the masses is not heeded, and some organs and cadres keep their distance and rarely meet the people; there are bureaucratic tendencies to solve problems merely on paper, through the apparatus, and by edicts. Last year, the districts of Permet and Tepelene each submitted more that 4,000 petitions to the ministries. Many petitions are sent to the Ministries of Agriculture and Education, and some others. Party, state, and economic bodies do not pay enough attention or respond to the views and suggestions of working people or even communists in party organizations. Since problems are not properly solved and needs are not met at the base, people become worried and write to the central bodies of the party and the state.

Leading cadres, especially party committee secretaries, should set an example by meeting the people directly and more often, in brigades and production units, in villages and elsewhere, visiting workers and cooperativists in their homes, and talking frankly to them. They should also talk to the masses freely about difficulties, with sincere explanations and convincing arguments, and a self-critical attitude toward their own shortcomings. They should show how obstacles and difficulties can be overcome, so that the masses form judgments in a party-minded spirit, become more aware, and commit themselves more fully to overcoming these problems.

The party should involve all cadres of the administration, scientists, specialists, writers, artists, doctors, civilians, and soldiers in going to the base to meet people in a friendly fashion, talking frankly with them, listening to their views with respect, consulting them on all their important problems and solving them together. The most important thing is that the problems should be discussed, but how people communicate with the masses is also vital. Cadres should not simply talk at the masses, but should listen to them, appreciating and acting on their opinions. Many issues arise at meetings with the masses, and even more at account-rendering sessions, when plans are discussed, and so forth, but the masses' views are often not appreciated and there are failures of organization in responding to them and solving the problems the masses raise. It is now quite unacceptable that party organizations should be slow in availing themselves of the masses' opinions on what they discuss, and for working collectives to report back but rarely about the activities they engage in, what is discussed at basic organizations, and the tasks they are faced with.

For a better enforcement of the line of the masses, we must consistently combat all forms of behind-the-scenes work and the thinking that encourages it. There is a legitimate demand for a clearer conception of the notion of confidentiality, because there is often loose talk about issues that do not concern other people, but this must not go to the point of self-isolation or sectarianism. There must be an analysis at the highest level of the propaganda about the decisions of the party's central bodies, the government, and the Presidium of the People's Assembly which is carried by the press, radio, and television. Where the problems of districts are concerned, the local press and radio must also bear this analysis in mind.

One of the main tasks of the party's work is the education of the masses. This is made necessary by a range of objective, subjective, foreign, and domestic factors, and the needs of the ideological struggle that is being waged in the cause of the revolution, which impose major tasks upon us which we must perform with our own resources. Party organs and organizations must acquaint themselves well with these factors and never imagine that our people, communists, and cadres are immune and are not influenced by bourgeois-revisionist pressures, alien behavior, and vestiges of the past.

The party has several times drawn attention to the struggle against alien behavior, especially to antisocialist attitudes to labor and common property, violations of discipline, intervention and cronyism, moral lapses, and the like; despite this, there are people who commit punishable offenses, and even crimes. The logic of the class struggle shows that there are and will be thieves, degenerates, and wrongdoers, but the aim is to reduce their number and certainly not to allow an increase, as has happened in some districts.

We must inspire the conviction that we possess every means to prevent crimes and alien behavior and to reduce the number of people involved in such things. Let us insist on education on a broad front, creating a general atmosphere that rejects and opposes these phenomena. It must be admitted that this spirit does not prevail everywhere in party organizations, working collectives, and mass organizations.

In Shkoder, Lezhe, Kruje, and other districts, plenty of citizens of various ages and social groups are still under the influence of religious prejudices and outworn patriarchal customs. Our people despise these things and reject them, yet remain silent, and communists, activists, and cadres labor under the illusion that these are things that we have put behind us. The party's propaganda is right to stress all the major upheavals that have taken place in society during the years of socialist construction, but the consolidation of our achievements requires more work, and is not a matter that can be expected to proceed of its own accord.

In order to intensify the struggle against such symptoms, let us work more effectively, especially in the youth organization, whose ranks include some boys and girls who behave unsuitably in public places, have vulgar tastes, and so forth. We must not however confine ourselves solely to educational work. Our healthy public opinion should influence every young person and citizen in order to arouse a militant spirit of struggle against liberal, apathetic, and passive attitudes, and against behavior and attitudes that fall foul of the state's laws and the standards of socialist morality. We must everywhere sharpen our political and ideological vigilance, so that nothing will escape the eye and judgment of a communist, a party organization, or a working collective.

Party organs and organizations must devote more attention to matters concerning stronger unity and the role it plays in the construction of socialist society. In strengthening this unity, they have rightly assigned particular importance to major matters of a political and ideological nature. However, there must also be more attention to fulfilling people's everyday needs, communal and retail services, education, health, housing, transportation, employment, and so forth, which are often seen as minor matters. It must also be clear that it is not only foreign and domestic enemies who are attempting to break our unity, but that this unity is also damaged by alien behavior, bureaucracy, sectarianism, interventions and cronyism, quarrels, arguments, and all other kinds of

improper behavior that demoralizes people and creates discontent. The party has always spoken about these things, because they pose a major threat to the fate of socialism. Let us therefore determinedly combat these phenomena everywhere, in town and countryside, in every party organization and working collective.

In implementing the tasks set by the party and Comrade Ramiz Alia for inculcating working people and communists with lofty ideals, better measures have been taken to tie educational work more closely to specific problems, in order to influence every social unit, down to the level of the family, with persistent and well-reasoned arguments. However, this has not been the case in many committees, bureaus, and basic organizations. They are not keeping abreast of their tasks, and are failing to perform their duties properly and punctually. They are not taking the offensive, and nothing happens. It is time to call for quality and scientific arguments in our propaganda. This need is dictated by our people's cultural level, their wide interests, and the nature and intensity of the ideological struggle we are waging. Party organs and organizations must therefore devote more attention to problems of education and must combat every tendency to underestimate the need for educational work.

We are dialectical, we must not neglect certain phenomena concerning development. Today's younger generation is growing up under different conditions, and has greater demands and wider interests. The party and its instruments should bear this closely in mind when considering the form and content of their educational work. The consciousness of the masses of youth and working people cannot be raised with moralizing catchphrases and slogans about the standards of civic morality demanded by modern conditions.

Communists and cadres should be unstinting in their labor to raise their theoretical knowledge and to expand their political, ideological, and cultural horizons, setting themselves higher goals, not resting content with what they learned in their formal education, and taking a lively part in ideological discussions and debates. The basic organizations and party forums must themselves be a great school for the ideological forging of communists, keeping them always up to date with events in the world and around us, and with our party's correct stands toward them, in order to explain socialist Albania's foreign policy in relation to neighboring countries, and so forth.

Party organizations should devote special care to the ideological and political education of the country's intelligentsia and their involvement in the nation's life. More attention must be paid to involving intellectuals in the fields in which they are competent, because it is seldom remembered that they too need to know more about various events than they learn from the pages of the press. Party committees must organize better the involvement of distinguished personalities of science and culture and our intelligentsia in general in discussions and theoretical problems. Seminars are one kind of forum which could be transformed into a place where intellectuals can meet each other, talk, and exchange views about major political problems. Tirana, Durres, and Shkoder Districts have acquired valuable experience in organizing seminars, and this must be passed on to other districts. The main thing is to interest party committees and organizations in invigorating these forums so that they do real work to publicize the party's line.

Social organizations also have a major role in the training and mobilization of the masses. They have increased their energies and mobilization in work for socialist construction, and have united the workers class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, young people, women, pensioners, and veterans more closely. However, the effects of their work must be more evident in all problems of the country's life, and their influence on the activities of their members must be greater. The mediocre and formalistic activities run by some mass organizations at the base have given rise to signs of apathy and lack of organizational energy.

The role of the mass organizations depends on the work the party carries out with them. There have also been improvements in this area. A broader vision of the place of the mass organizations as a whole and each in particular has been created. It is nevertheless a fact that there are plenty of party basic organizations who do not properly value work with the mass organizations and do not recognize their potential for more lively and effective work. We therefore call on party organs and organizations to avoid every tendency to discount the mass organizations, and to open wider horizons to them, involving them more closely in solving the problems the party faces. The party could also exercise its leadership of the mass organizations still better, particularly at the base, and should not confine its attention merely to the forums of these organizations, as often happens in practice. Standardized methods of party work with the mass organizations, which iron out their individual characteristics, and all forms of paternalism, domination, and usurpation are damaging, especially at our working masses' present level of development.

The central organs of the mass organizations must show a high level of management, creativity, and initiative in order to invigorate the life of their respective organizations and stimulate their members. Let us expand our ideological, cultural, and organizational horizons in order to respond better to the development and demands of different social strata, refusing to accept routine or shortcomings. The mass organizations must bring more important problems to the attention of party and state bodies, transmitting the views and concerns of the base better than they have done hitherto, and themselves helping to solve problems that emerge. In this way, these social organizations will increasingly become tribunes for the voice of the masses.

V

It is a great achievement of the party's policy that we ourselves have been able to train cadres quickly. These

cadres, matured by the party's teachings, work in the four corners of the nation and, with their lofty spirit of mobilization, have devoted all their talents to the construction of socialist society.

The number of elected and appointed cadres and their quality will continually increase. This means that the party must improve its work with them.

Society needs as many educated people as possible, and as few incompetent people as possible. However, it is a fact that there are plenty of such incompetent cadres and specialists. Party and state organs must therefor work harder to use cadres' and specialists' intellectual capacities, and to raise their spirit of militancy, just as cadres must make efforts to improve themselves. If they fail to make progress and to do their job properly, let there be no hesitation in transferring them to other, lower-level duties with a lower wage, whatever their educational level.

There are cadres and specialists in various sectors who are not sufficiently committed or given proper responsibilities, and who spend most of their time dealing with secondary issues. The organs appointing them are responsible for this and have not allotted tasks properly. However, cadres in such posts should also themselves feel responsible for being incompetent or for being led by petit bourgeois thinking. This means that cadres are sometimes not exploited well or where they are needed.

A more revolutionary and ardent spirit; a higher level of responsibility, patriotism, and initiative; and a more active attitude are demanded of cadres, so that they will be at the fore in revolutionary movements with more advanced thinking, studying more, and using more creative imagination and revolutionary enthusiasm in their work. Party, state, and economic organs must therefore ask more of cadres, giving them important problems to solve, and looking for ways to stimulate and appreciate more highly professional intellectual work, especially in production and planning, in order to tie pay more closely to the results of labor. Alongside educational work, organization and account-rendering must be perfected, and the strictest measures must be taken against those who do not do their jobs, misuse their positions, or break the law and the moral principles of our society.

The party has clear guidelines, and has taken measures that help to revolutionize cadres, such as encouraging their turnover and their work in production, narrowing wage differentials, and so forth. All these things have had a useful effect, which has, however, been reduced by certain formalistic and bureaucratic attitudes.

The ties between cadres and the masses and the need for accountability are not an optional matter, but are compulsory for all cadres, irrespective of their level of responsibility or their field of work. However, this important party guideline cannot be implemented with a formal attitude to plans and annual statistics. There must therefore be more and better-organized work to accomplish this.

As a result of carrying out the party's guidelines on cadre turnover, all of the party and state apparatus has undergone repeated cadre renewal. This turnover of cadres was ensured by a decision of the Politburo to limit the tenure of cadres in certain sectors responsible for the working people's most vital problems. The decision was properly understood and acted on in every district and in all central bodies. However, it could also be extended to other posts, including deans of faculties, heads of department in colleges, and high-level cadres in scientific and research institutes and other sectors. All this creates an opportunity for achieving a more extensive turnover of cadres, avoiding cronyism and monopolization, and affirming in a more practical way the principle that a cadre is under the control of the masses and dependent not only on those above, on the nomenklatura, but on those below, on the masses. The Politburo will discuss this question and take the necessary measures.

Another serious problem concerns the work of cadres in production. Despite measures taken time and again to improve the situation, this has more or less been turned into a second "vacation" for cadres. This is another problem that calls for study and the appropriate decisions.

The Politburo has made changes in the promotion, appointment, and turnover procedure for cadres. These have exerted a positive influence on increasing the responsibility of party bodies, developing the initiative and self-motivation of the masses, and increasing the responsibility of cadres themselves. The authority given to party basic organizations and collectives to dismiss any cadre, irrespective of his grade, reinforces the right to refuse a cadre, and stamps out arrogance and exaggerated respect for seniority. There is nevertheless still scope to study a further extension of the authority of the base.

The principle of treating a cadre as a work colleague is very important and is a guarantee against all subjectivist attitudes. There must be no formalism in the enforcement of this major principle. Party logic and the party line and its directives, not the authority of a title, must always take priority.

It should be clear that the party's monopoly of cadres does not mean that communists should monopolize management and administrative posts. A proper policy of promoting cadres presupposes not only that appropriate and able cadres will be appointed, but that a correct balance will be maintained between those who are party members and those who are not. Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his speech in Mat District entitled "It is the Masses Who Build Socialism, and It Is the Party That Develops Their Awareness," considered this problem at length. In carrying out his teachings, improvements have constantly been made, yet there are cases in which cadres who are not party members are discounted, and there is a tendency to give leading posts to communists. In certain sectors, elected bodies must consider the balance between cadres who are party members and those who are not, especially in central ministries. Let us therefore

go back to Comrade Enver's important speech. Bringing in more communists than are necessary into various bodies reduces the pool of cadres, and means that they are not used at the most important fronts and in direct work with the masses.

The party has always pursued a cadre policy in accordance with our Marxist-Leninist line. This is a principled and unchanging line. It is a matter for bodies and organizations to strengthen this policy as far as possible, issuing instructions according to the authority delegated to them. Party organizations should take the lead in cadre policy in all their own units. They must devote more attention to problems of cadre training, raising young cadres and women from the ranks of the workers class to positions of responsibility, and providing them with qualifications of various kinds, a field where there is much formalism and superficiality.

These are some of the problems that I intended to lay before this meeting of the party Central Committee. The Politburo expresses its conviction that, under the leadership of the party Central Committee led by Comrade Ramiz Alia, and further relying on the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the analysis and enactment of the tasks we have laid down will give fresh impetus to strengthening the party and its leading role on the brilliant road of the construction of socialism in our country.

On the basis of the decisions of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, meetings to render accountability and for elections in the party will be held in September and October. The documents of this plenum will be the basis of this activity, giving a fresh and more powerful impetus to the work of the party, in order to arrive at the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland with achievements that will be as great as possible.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 23-29 Sep

AU3009160289

[Editorial report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 23-29 September reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (Time and date of report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee (CC) first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Adil Carcani, AWP CC Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Foto Cami, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary; Hekuran Isai, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary; Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member; Pirro Kondi and Llambi Gegprifti, AWP CC Politburo candidate members, attended a ceremony in Tirana on 23 September on the 10th anniversary of the death of Hysni Kapo, former AWP CC Politburo member and friend of Enver Hoxha. (1800 GMT 23 Sep 89)

Adil Carcani, received Jean-Pierre Soisson, French minister of labor, employment, and professional training on 28 September. (1900 GMT 28 Sep 89)

Foto Cami received Helmut Schoefer, minister of state at the FRG Foreign Ministry, on 28 September. (1900 GMT 28 Sep 89)

Hajredin Celiku, AWP CC Politburo member, attended the commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of Kruje on 24 September. (1900 GMT 24 Sep 89)

Muho Asllani, AWP CC Politburo member, attended celebrations on the 45th anniversary of the 17th Partisan Brigade in Gjirokaster on 25 September. (1900 GMT 25 Sep 89)

Pali Miska received a Dutch agricultural delegation on 28 September, in his capacity as minister of agriculture. (1900 GMT 28 Sep 89)

GDR Refugees Appear at FRG Embassy in Sofia

LD0410100589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] According to reports, there are now GDR refugees at the FRG Embassy in Sofia. Today's edition of the Bonn newspaper BILDZEITUNG reports that four East Germans have asked for asylum at the foreign mission. At the same time, the paper claims to know that six East Germans are staying, and that more than 15 have also fled to the U.S. Embassy in Berlin.

NATO Arms Proposals Take 'Step Forward'

AU2609092489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Sep 89 p 5

[Boyko Pangelov article: "Step Was Made, Question Marks Remain"]

[Text] On Wednesday [20 September] NATO submitted a package with its proposals at the recently opened third round of the Vienna talks on Conventional Forces in Europe.

The submission of the new proposals is proof that NATO is striving not to lag behind the Warsaw Pact's activity, and to a certain degree the proposals take into consideration the justified remarks of the socialist countries concerning NATO's previous proposals. This positive tendency is underscored also by the fact that as early as the second round the United States and NATO relinquished their unfounded position whereby only tanks, armored personnel carriers, and artillery were to be discussed at the talks although they did not agree to include combat aircraft and helicopters in the talks. It is well-known that NATO has superiority in those kinds of weapons.

NATO's new proposals represent a step forward and in certain areas they have taken into consideration the well-grounded demands of the Warsaw Pact. Thus, in the sphere of weapons, which are stored in certain West European countries and intended to be used by U.S. troops who could be transferred to Europe, NATO proposes to work out a verification system. To a certain degree this is an answer to the concern of the Warsaw Pact with the significant quantity of stored weapons, and its demand to reduce them. There are also specific ideas about the so-called accompanying measures: limiting the number of troops and weapons that participate in maneuvers, and determining the period for warning the other side about maneuvers in which specific numbers of troops and are taking part. Specific limits have been proposed for the quantity of tanks, artillery, and armored personnel carriers in the zone of reductions for each of the alliances and for every member country.

The "package" also has its shortcomings. Obviously they stem to a large degree from the differences in NATO, which delayed by 2 weeks the submission of the new proposals. Certain Western states demonstrated their "indignation" (according to REUTER) with the U.S. proposals for Warsaw Pact inspections on their territory, because those inspections "would give Moscow an access to their weapon-producing industries." This is a rather strange objection, because until a short while ago it was the West that accused the socialist countries of objecting to the inspections. It is because of this disagreement that the issue of inspecting military bases and deployment platforms has not been mentioned at all in NATO's new proposals.

Other questions which are very important for the final outcome of the talks also remained unanswered. NATO's new proposals say nothing about reducing combat aircraft and helicopters which, because of their mobility, are especially dangerous strike weapons. No answer was given to the demand to determine the categories of "combat tank" and "armored personnel carrier," and thus light tanks and armored reconnaissance cars have been left outside the reductions sphere. Nothing has been said yet about incorporating dual capable systems (for conventional and nuclear warheads) in the subject matter of the talks.

It is a fact that NATO's proposals include new and positive elements which in many aspects coincide with proposals already submitted by the Warsaw Pact. This must be properly assessed. However, the questions about the West's final goals and intentions remain: Will the West fully take into consideration the legitimate interests and security of the other side at the talks? The road along which NATO is heading is correct, but it must be travelled all the way

GDR Refugees Waiting To Leave FRG Embassy

FRG's 'Irresponsible' Step Viewed

LD0310144189 Prague CTK in English 1222 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 3 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government has approached all issues linked with the illegal stay of the GDR citizens on the territory of the West Germany Embassy in Prague with maximum restraint, spokesman for the Press Department of the Czechoslovak Government Office Miroslav Pavel said in a statement issued here today.

Relevant Czechoslovak authorities have provided necessary supplies and humanitarian, medical and other technical assistance. The Czechoslovak Government actively participated in the search for generally acceptable solutions to the situation, which, in no case arose by Czechoslovakia's fault. After an adequate solution was found, Czechoslovakia provided the necessary legal and technical conditions for the GDR citizens to be able to leave the premises of the FRG Embassy in Prague and later on Czechoslovakia. "We have been informed at the same time that the FRG Government will make sure that a similar situation cannot be repeated. After several hours, however, the FRG Embassy in Prague was again open to the influx of fugitives from the GDR", Miroslav Pavel stated.

The spokesman went on to stress that "we regard this step of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany as irresponsible. It is in absolute contrast to internationally agreed regulations on the activities of diplomatic missions, embodied in the Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations of 1961. The movement of the GDR citizens in Prague, which is directly connected with this irresponsible step of the FRG, seriously upsets public order in the Czechoslovak capital. We shall naturally guarantee free access to the building of the FRG Embassy in Prague through the main entrance. However, at the moment when we shall consider it necessary, we reserve the right to take further indispensable measures to maintain and restore public order".

Miroslav Pavel said the whole matter is instructive also in wider political connections, showing in practice by what principles the policy of the FRG in relation to the neighbouring socialist countries is guided. Czechoslovakia has a lasting and vital interest in promoting political, economic, scientific, cultural, tourist and other cooperation in Europe and the world. "We want to be an open country. The fundamental condition, however, is that the process of detente and cooperation should take place on the basis of mutual respect, respect for the sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs of states", Miroslav Pavel added.

Answering a question by a West German TV correspondent, Miroslav Pavel stressed Czechoslovakia guarantees free access to the FRG Embassy's main entrance but not over the fence of its garden. Pointing out the need to keep public order, Miroslav Pavel said that some embassies of other countries in the part of Prague where the FRG Embassy is located, namely the Embassy of the United States, have asked for increased protection.

Refugees Break Into Compound

LD0310144789 Hamburg DPA in German 1425 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Prague/Bonn (DPA)—The GDR stopped passport-free and visa-free traffic with Czechoslovakia for its citizens on Tuesday. [passage omitted]

Eyewitnesses reported in Prague that a group of 250 GDR refugees, who had been held back by CSSR police, managed to break free, ran to the fence, and climbed into the compound.

An embassy spokesman confirmed to DPA that "a few hundred came over the fence." One person who had been injured in the stomach remained lying behind the fence and was given medical care. [passage omitted]

Police Assault Television Team

AU0310194789 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Last night, CSSR police officers assaulted a camera team of the Mainz ZDF Television Network which was photographing the events in front of the FRG Embassy in Prague. One cameraman had his camera intentionally thrown at his face and, subsequently, he was hit from behind by a personnel carrier. His camera was badly damaged and can no longer be used.

ZDF has protested against this interference in its work to the CSSR ambassador in Bonn. The ambassador was asked to make sure that the ZDF correspondents can continue their work in Prague without being hindered further.

CTK Reports Travel Suspension

LD0310204689 Prague CTK in English 1835 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Prague/Berlin Oct 3 (CTK)—Further provocations aimed against calm and order are being prepared by certain West German circles on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, it follows from reports the GDR has at its disposal.

After consultations with Czechoslovakia it has therefore been decided to temporarily suspend passport- and visa-free travels of GDR citizens to Czechoslovakia. This measure is self-executing.

FRG's Kohl Phones Adamec

LD0310210189 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] The following information was published a few minutes ago. At the request of FRG Federal Chancellor

Helmut Kohl, in the late afternoon today he held a telephone conversation with Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec. The federal chancellor called for a humanitarian attitdude in dealing with the critical situation which arose again today at the FRG Embassy in Czechoslovakia. The federal premier informed the federal chancellor about the agreement reached with the GDR government dealing with the problem of GDR citizens staying unlawfully in the FRG Embassy in Prague, enabling them to depart for the FRG through the GDR.

4,000 Crowd Into Embassy

LD0310210589 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 3 Oct 89

Let us now see the shots which we took this afternoon—about 3 hours ago—in front of the building of the FRG Embassy. In our estimation approximately 1,500 people assembled in front of the building. In the building there are, according to the information which Steiner from the Embassy gave me over the phone, more than 4,000 people. In his words, this creates an unbearable situation because the crowd of people who are standing in front of the entrance to the building makes it impossible for supply cars and vehicles removing waste matter to pass through. This situation led to the temporary closing of the FRG Embassy for the GDR citizens. Cars which pass by the embassy building have problems too. It is particularly bad when an ambulance tries to get to the hospital Pod Petrinem.

Refugee Train Delayed

LD0310224189 Hamburg DPA in German 2228 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—Reports concerning the departure of the first train with GDR refugees from Prague have not been confirmed in the CSSR capital. Nor was any information on this available from the FRG Interior Ministry.

It was reported in Prague this evening that the departure of the trains carrying the GDR refugees from in and around the FRG Embassy has been delayed for organizational reasons. No exact time for the departure was given. The trains are however supposed to leave Prague main station tonight.

Thousands of GDR citizens have been standing around the Embassy in icy temperatures this evening. No buses have been made available yet for the transfer to the station.

Informed circles referred to organizational shortcomings as the reason for the delayed departure of the GDR refugees to the FRG.

Prague Condemns FRG Campaign

LD0310225989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] As was announced in the GDR today, after consultations with the CSSR, passport and visa-free journeys by GDR citizens to Czechoslovakia have been suspended.

Slavomir Malickaj, our Berlin correspondent, reports:

Explaining this step, it is being said here that ADN has gained information about new provocations prepared by certain groups in the FRG against the GDR with the aim of disturbing order prior to the 40th anniversary celebrations of the GDR.

A number of commentaries here react at the same time to the decision of the GDR Government 2 days ago. They say that the government tried to deal with the unbearable situation in the FRG Embassies in Prague and Warsaw through compromise. Therefore, it adopted a humane decision on Sunday. What was bonn's reply? More GDR citizens are again unlawfully on the territory of FRG diplomatic missions in Prague and Warsaw and the FRG authorities again claim that they are competent to deal with the affairs of GDR citizens too. Yet these actions violate the valid norms of international law which says that no diplomatic mission can issue travel documents to citizens of another state. This only confirms the view that this is an extensive organized campaign against the GDR the aim of which is throw doubt on the sovereig[illegible] of the GDR, as well as on the political and economic results achieved in the last 40 years.

In the FRG, a campaign has been continuing against the the GDR in connection with the latest development of the situation at the FRG Embassy in Prague. Jiri Halousek reports:

Today's radio and television bulletins report only the events at the FRG Embassy in Prague. They create an impression of ever- growing tension and they also try various speculation. In spite of the fact that the issue is being discussed nonstop, and during the day a special crisis center of the FRG Government, comprising experts and chaired by Foriegn Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher, has been in session, it is extremely difficult to get information from a reliable source. After many attempts, I succeeded in contacting Hans Schumacher from the Foreign Ministry Press Department, who was able to answer some questions, at least on the phone. I aksed him how he imagined the current situation would be solved. His answer: He imagines that everything will be solved in a pragmatic and humanitarian way as was done this weekend. To my objection that this could lead to a repetition of the same situation in few days time, Hans Schumacher said that he could not say that this would not happen but in his view it is not the FRG who caused this state of affairs.

This viewpoint can be heard here nonstop these days, also from prominent governmental politicians. But by

publically declaring the theory of the so-called German citizenship they are violating the sovereignty of the GDR and, together with the extensive campaign by the FRG media, they are creating a mass psychosis regarding GDR citizens departing for the other side of the border. By all this they are resurrecting and supporting dangerous ideas about reuniting Germany. Official circles pretend that these issues do not exist.

'Free Access' to Embassy Guaranteed

LD0310233489 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Federal Government spokesman Miroslav Pavel said today in reply to questions by FRG journalists that Czechoslovakia would guarantee free access to the FRG Embassy building. However, we do not think that a fence is an entrance, Miroslav Pavel said. If someone wants to enter the embassy he should go through the main entrance. It is not only in our interest, but in the interest of the FRG too, otherwise we are unable to guarantee the security of the diplomatic mission. The FRG authorities should understand this because antiterrorist measures valid in the FRG are very strict. Furthermore, diplomatic missions in the vicinity of the FRG embassy—for example the U.S. embassy—have asked for relevant protection.

FRG Envoy Handed Note

LD0310234889 Prague CTK in English 2048 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 3 (CTK)—West German Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Hermann Huber was handed over a note at the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry here today, stressing that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has helped through its complaisant, humanitarian but at the same time single act solve the undesirable situation caused by the illegal stay of the GDR citizens at the West German Embassy in Prague. [sentence as received]

Czechoslovak authorities expected that the West German bodies will take all precautions to prevent a repetition of this situation in the future. The stay of the GDR citizens at the FRG Embassy in Prague is at variance with the mission and functions of the diplomatic representations as set in the Vienna convention on diplomatic relations of 1961. These facts have been several times pointed out in the course of the discussions, the document said, adding that all this has led to an abnormal and undesirable situation.

Due to the fact that the FRG Embassy in Prague continues to act unlawfully, the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry must resolutely protest and urgently requests the Federal Republic of Germany to harmonize the activities of its embassy with international law.

The West German attitude is at the same time at variance with the documents adopted in the framework of the Helsinki process and another proof of the unwillingness to respect the existing realities in Europe. These activities do not contribute to the confidence- building, improvement of the current international situation and development of friendly relations, the note stressed.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry resolutely rejects the West German stand according to which the country has the "duty" to protect all Germans as having no basis in international law. The GDR citizens can be protected only by the GDR as a sovereign and independent state, it said.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry note informed the FRG Embassy that the Czechoslovak side is prepared to create necessary conditions for normal and orderly functioning of the FRG embassy on the territory of Czechoslovakia.

FRG Stand on Refugees Reviewed

LD0310235789 Prague CTK in English 2118 GMT 3 Oct 89

[By Petr Frankl]

[Text] Bonn Oct 3 (CTK correspondent)—West German papers wrote today that the situation in the FRG Embassy in Prague has again sharpened.

Bonn has based its actions concerning the GDR citizens illegally staying at its embassies on the stand that no German wishing to live in West Germany will be refused. In fact this is nothing but an old doctrine on the basis of which West Germany arrogates to itself the right to represent all Germans, as if the second German state or GDR citizenship did not exist at all.

It can be heard in Bonn that the exodus of GDR citizens is not any solution. However, West German politicians claim that the causes must be sought only in the GDR, that they allegedly want neither to destabilize the GDR nor depopulate it but only call for reforms.

It is certainly not by chance that claims about "reunification" being again on the agenda and that the "German issue has never been as topical as today are heard ever more frequently these weeks. The dreams about the German Reich and its borders from the year 1937 are again being revived. [quotation marks as received]

It cannot be said that all politicians in West Germany have fallen for the dream about "reunification". There also exist views warning against dangerous plans and attempts at destabilizing the GDR and abusing the problem of emigration. They refuse the effort to present West Germany one-sidedly as the promised land of wealth and freedom. Such is the stand of SPD honorary chairman Willy Brandt, prominent SPD politician Egon Bahr, spokeswoman for the Greens Party Verena Krieger and others.

The German Democratic Republic does not need Bonn's advice to solve its problems. This means in particular such advice that is in its final consequence aimed against the post-war borders in Europe and threatens the stability on the continent.

Travel Suspension 'Sensible'

LD0410083389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0700 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Fikar remarks in Czech]

[Excerpts] The ADN agency has commented on the temporary measure of the GDR to suspend the passport-free and visa-free trips of its citizens to Czechoslovakia [passage omitted]

What was the situation like last night and this morning at the border crossing with the GDR in Bozi Dar? Our correspondent in West Bohemia Jaroslav Fikar reports:

[Fikar] I can from here, from the border, confirm that the measure has manifested itself immediately by a reduction of traffic to one-third. While usually 5,000 GDR tourists pass through here daily, including some 200 tourists at night, last night, according to (?Stanislav Rubas), pass control shift leader, only 180 GDR citizens were checked in and out—150 of them were returning to their homeland and only 36 citizens were able to enter Czechoslovakia. In all cases the citizens were on necessary business trips. As I have seen, the corridor has been made narrower at the customs check-out-point—this enables a better control of vehicles. People to whom I have talked, last night and this morning here on the border, have accepted the suspension of visa-free travel for GDR citizens as a necessary and sensible measure.

AI Representatives 'Satisfied' With First Visit

AU2909225989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Amnesty International Representatives in Prague"]

[Text] Prague—Anne Burley and Nicole Duckworth, representatives of the International Secretariat of the International Organization for Amnesty seated in London (Amnesty International), paid a visit to the CSSR on 25-27 September at the invitation of the Committee of Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation.

Representatives of the two sides briefed one another on the mission of their organizations and poissible forms of their further cooperation. During their visit the representatives of that non- governmental organization also were received at the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the CSSR Prosecutor General's Office, where they discussed problems connected with human rights.

Asked whether the delegation has succeeded in accomplishing the objectives of its visit, Anne Burley said that this was the first stay of the representatives of that organization in Czechoslovakia. She said: "We have established contact with the staffers of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation and, at the same time, succeeded in improving mutual understanding for resolving issues of interest to both organizations. We are satisfied with the results of the first meeting; our visit has fulfilled its objective."

CTK Reacts to Hungarian Statement on August 68

AU0310143789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Sep 89 p 7

[CTK correspondent's report: "Session of Parliament of the Hungarian People's Republic"]

[Excerpts] Budapest—The first part of the autumn session of the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic ended in Budapest yesterday. The deputies discussed and approved bills on immigration and emigration, foreign travel and passports, as well as amendments to the penal code and to the laws on taxes paid by enterprises and on personal income tax. [passage omitted]

At the proposal of the foreign affairs committee, the deputies approved by a majority of votes a statement in which Parliament dissociates itself from the participation by the Hungarian People's Republic in the military solution to the situation in Czechoslovakia in August 21 years ago. Czechoslovak bodies took a clear standpoint on such statements a few weeks ago. They unambiguously rejected them, stressing their incompetence and the fact that they distort the 1968 events in the CSSR.

Foreign Relations Delegation Departs for PRC

AU0210145489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Briefly From Home" column]

[Text] A delegation from the Czechoslovak Society For International Relations headed by Stefan Murin, Slovak Socialist Republic first deputy premier and chairman of the Committee For Czechoslovak-Chinese Friendship, departed yesterday for the People's Republic of China at the invitation of the Society For Chinese-Czechoslovak Friendship.

CTK Gives Details of 'Magion-2' Space Flight

LD0310170489 Prague CTK in English 1417 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 3 (CTK)—Today, at 4.30 a.m. Central European time, the Czechoslovak satellite "Magion-2" was separated from the "Interkosmos-24" satellite, launched in orbit on September 28, 1989.

After the separation, the implementation of the scientific project "Active" was started. Its aim is to pursue research of the space location of plasmatic processes in the vicinity of the earth.

The Czechoslovak satellite Magion-2 was developed and manufactured in the Institute of Geophysics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in cooperation with

other scientific and industrial work centres in Czechoslovakia in the framework of Czechoslovakia's participation in the "Interkosmos" program. Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union have particpated in the development of the Magion-2 satellite.

Magion-2 is to gradually leave Interkosmos-24. The distance between the two satellites is to be controlled by the "Pulsar" unit developed in the Soviet Union.

Parameters for the Magion-2 orbit are similar to those of the Interkosmos-24 orbit. All the devices aboard the satellite are working normally. The Magion-2 satelite is operated from the telemetric station in Panska Ves, northern Bohemia.

Planned Changes to Penal Legislation Outlined

AU0210150189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Proposed Amendments to the Penal Code"]

[Excerpts] Prague (CTK)—The purpose of the proposed amendments to the Penal Code and to the Law on Minor Offenses is to increase the differentiation of penal accountability and to eliminate unwarranted punitive measures against acts that have either ceased to be dangerous to society altogether or that can be sufficiently settled out of court. The amendments also respect international commitments which the CSSR has adopted in recent years. The proposed changes will be discussed by the CSSR Federal Assembly and are expected to go into effect on 1 April 1990.

The amendments propose, above all, that the sentence of deprivation of freedom be applied only exceptionally to criminal offenses, the maximum penalty for which does not exceed 1 year of imprisonment, and to minor offenses. These exceptions should be confined to cases where a different punishment evidently would not fulfill its purpose, in view of the nature of the criminal offense or minor offense involved, or in view of the personality of the offender.

The amendment foresees that some criminal offenses, such as leaving the republic under Paragraph 109 of the Penal Code and drunkenness under Paragraph 201 of the Penal Code, will be transferred to the category of misdemeanors. The crossing of the state border by force, or with the threat of using force, will continue to be qualified as a criminal offense, however. As to conduct which at present constitutes the criminal offense of drunkenness under Paragraph 201 of the Penal Code, for the future it is deemed sufficient to apply administrative sanctions in the form of a ban on activity for up to 2 years, as well as fines. [passage omitted]

A novel feature is the qualification as a criminal offense of, for example, the gross violation of regulations protecting the environment, if it results in a serious threat to the environment. It is also being proposed that the criminal offense of vandalism be incorporated into the Penal Code as a separate category. [passage omitted] The amendment also formulates as a separate category the criminal offense of violation of official duties by soldiers, both intentional and attributable to negligence, and sets a penalty for the violation of the rights and protected interests of soldiers, that is, for so-called bullying. It proposes, furthermore, that a penalty of deprivation of freedom be laid down for the introduction or spreading of AIDS or other similarly dangerous diseases—a penalty of between 3 and 10 years if caused intentionally and of between 6 months and 3 years if attributable to negligence. [passage omitted]

The attained level of socialist social relations makes it possible, on the other hand, to propose that criminal offenses which have virtually ceased to be dangerous be dropped from the Penal Code. This concerns, for example, the criminal offenses of abusing a religious function, obstructing the supervision of churches and religious communities, nonfulfillment of tasks in operating a private business, violation of the law on the family under Paragraph 211 of the Penal Code, and some minor offenses.

The amendment also introduces considerable modifications with respect to capital punishment. The terms for the imposition of capital punishment, which will continue to be an exceptional penalty, are being made more rigid. The existing restrictions (capital punishment must not be imposed on pregnant women or on minors) are being augmented by a new one—capital punishment must not be handed down if the grievous consequence which would otherwise warrant the imposition of this exceptional penalty involves only material damage. This concerns, for example, some offenses directed against the republic, such as acts of sabotage, for which, until now, it has been possible to impose the death penalty in the event of large-scale damage caused by the perpetrator. In practical terms, this will mean a significant restriction of the possibility of handing down the death penalty in peacetime. Essentially, this possibility will be confined to persons who, by their criminal activity, have brought about the death of another person. As Jiri Rimal, CSSR first deputy prosecutor general, informed journalists on Friday [29 September] during a news conference on the planned amendments, some 50 cases of capital punishment have been carried out in the CSSR since 1980, all of them against murderers.

The draft amendment to the Code of Criminal Procedure simplifies criminal procedures. In what is a new move, it sets, for example, the maximum limit for the extension of the period of custody. Exceptionally, in cases of complicated investigations of criminal activity, the prosecutor may extend this to a maximum of 2 years.

The chief aim of the amendment to the Law on Serving the Prison Term is a differentiation between convicts

within the framework of individual corrective-educational groups, so as to prevent the negative influence of hardened delinquents on other convicts. [passage omitted]

New Kcs100 Bill To Come Into Circulation

AU0210142989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "A New Bill"]

[Text] Prague—New 1989 Kcs100 bills will come into circulation from 1 October 1989. On the front is a portrait of Klement Gottwald and on the back Prague Castle and part of the Mala Strana are depicted, portraying the towers on the Mala Strana bridges and St. Nicholas Cathedral. The national artist, Albin Brunovsky, is responsible for designing both sides of the bill. The main color represented in the new Kcs100 bill, which is 67 mm wide and 147 mm long and which has been prepared in harmony with the long-term concept for modifying Czechoslovak bills, is green. The current Kcs100 bill, issued in 1961, will continue to be valid. A sufficient length of time remains before they will be exchanged and the public will be informed about the termination of their validity sufficiently in advance.

Adamec Delivers Railwaymen's Day Speech

AU2709192589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Sep 89 p 3

[Extract from a speech delivered by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec at a ceremonial meeting marking Czechoslovak Railwaymen's Day, in Prague on 23 September]

[Text] Czechoslovak Railwaymen's Day is an opportunity for us to review the successes achieved, the problems in, and further prospects for the blue army's selfless and socially important work. On behalf of the party and government delegation, I want to thank everyone who has gained recognition for the quality and reliability of the transportation services, for the trouble-free supplying of the national economy with raw and processed materials, and for satisfying the needs of the traveling public. The new holders of state and departmental awards deserve particular credit.

We are living in a difficult, but in its own way, stimulating and interesting time. We are coming to terms with the higher demands and we are seeking answers to society's new needs. On many occasions we meet with the questions—on what can we determine our prospects, what can we depend on in preparing for our future, and from what are we to draw our strength and certainty for our further struggles. In nothing and in nowhere other than in socialism. Many generations have coupled their hopes and desires with this and many people have made sacrifices for it. Therefore, we are depending on everything which our country has achieved throughout the past four decades in building industry, in large scale agricultural production, in the substantial increase in the standard of living in towns and villages, in education, and in other sectors. We are proud of these irrefutable successes. We want to continue with everything that has been tried and tested and we want to intensify all the good things. However, we cannot live off the past. The conditions of our work are quickly changing in the world and in our country. A number of countries are attaining a faster pace of development and are beginning to overtake us. In some sectors of production, science, and technology we are not managing to keep in step with the world. Specific long-term problems are increasing. Therefore, we have chosen the path of social restructuring. Its aim is to make our society more efficient, people's lives richer, and socialism more attractive. We are all involved in insuring that everyone lives and works better.

Restructuring Conditioned By A Successful Road Forward

This also establishes the main substance of restructuring. However, its essence is sometimes understood unilaterally. It is impossible to pass by, evade, or even excuse the inertia of habits to date. Everything that prevents and slows down faster progress deserves to be criticized openly. This criticism must not be an end in itself. A condition of the successful road forward is to have in each locality a positive program, a constructive starting point, and specific solutions. Also, in every Czechoslovak State Railroad [CSD] workplace collectives and individuals must be aware of what is expected from them and what they will gain by this.

In connection with restructuring, the question of what is and what is not socialist is often posed. Fears are cropping up in case we take the wrong turning on the road along which we have embarked. It is true that many, previously little known, concepts are making their way into our lives—for example, self-financing and the market, the free flow of public information, and self-management. Not everyone immediately fully understands their substance and aims. They are measured against entrenched ideas from which it is sometimes difficult to depart. Comfort seeking, as well as, anxieties about taking risks are operative in this. The stamina to consider everything that has been done in the name of socialist ideas as absolutely correct and as the only thing possible is also manifested here. You yourselves ask what is socialist in the bureaucratic scrutiny of people's justified needs and in restricting their rights, in wage egalitarianism, in putting up with double standards, corruption, or the abuse of positions? These and similar phenomena do great damage to socialism, discredit its principles, and lower the application of real advantages. What determines the socialist nature of ideas and needs? Goodwill itself and mere declarations are not enough. First and foremost, the decisive thing is whether we are realistically approaching the ideals of a society of plenty and cultural richness, equality, justice, freedom, happiness, and the comprehensive development of man. We must change some ideas about and forms of management

but we will not abandon the principles and aims of socialism. This must be made clear. The cause of socialism did not triumph in our country under any kind of outside influence. The Czechoslovak people elected this road voluntarily on the basis of their own historical experiences.

In order to guarantee restructuring, the Federal Government has made a number of important decisions. We are making a great effort in renewing the economic balance and in creating a modern structure and a more efficient economic mechanism. These are very demanding, mutually interlinked, tasks. We are often asked the question whether we have enough strength to fulfill them. We are not promising that the transition to the new economic conditions on 1 January 1990 will immediately produce more money for wages and bring about an improvement in the selection of goods in the shops. That would be irresponsible. Despite all the complications, we regard the improvement of working and living conditions to be the basic criterion for our efforts. Although some steps will not necessarily be popular, we will proceed with them in the people's interest.

We are in favor of the center and the primary elements' joint course of action in the political and economic sphere. We are improving the quality of the government's and the departments' work and we are expanding the scope for the independence and the entrepreneurial activity of state enterprises and for the greater participation of working collectives in decisionmaking. We do not consider democracy to be a luxury or a embellishment; nor is it an encumbrance, although we are increasing demands on managerial work. Why is it not possible to bring the new economic mechanism to life without democratization? Utilizing collective common sense and wisdom while making decisions will help to avoid onesidedness. It will lead to more effective control and to informal and regular rendering of accounts.

For the Revival of Progressive Traditions

This year we come together on the 150th anniversary of railroad transportation in our country. During this occasion, we recall the enthusiasm, courage, creative potential, and working endeavors of the many generations who contributed to social progress in our countries.

Throughout this period, the railroad has, in many ways, set the tone of technical progress. It has become a symbol of high organizational ability, professionalism, and skilled work, all of which are associated with strict discipline and exemplary practice. The high demands made on the technical parameters of the means of transportation in no small way deserve credit for the high standard of our engineering.

We do not recall the past's creative deeds only to revive old glories. They are, first and foremost, evidence of the ability of our predecessors and an example to follow. They are proof that we have something to be proud of. The number of firsts in constructing railroads, in producing outstanding locomotives, in high quality passenger and goods vehicles, in technical progress, and in the boldness of our railroad projects has become an element of our national consciousness and patriotism.

An element of the railwaymen's continually applicable values is their sense of personal and collective responsibility. Justified pride in the railwaymen's profession and professional honor rank among their invaluable moral ingredients. Even today they have lost none of their significance even when we place material incentives and justified remuneration, according to the results of the work, at the forefront.

Railroad transportation is the basis of our transportation system. Its good utilization represents an important element in the transition to the new management mechanism, in the implementation of important structural changes, and in creating a favorable political atmosphere during the precongress period. Comrade Minister Podlena has already talked about many things. I would like to add only a few brief comments to this.

The development of the railroad to date has also been under the sway of the extensive nature of the national economy. We occupy one of the foremost places in Europe in the capacity of goods transported and in the average load factor on the network. This is overwhelmingly to the detriment of the extent and quality of passenger and transit freight transportation and the overall efficiency of transportation. It is not easy to come to terms with the consequences of many years of pursuing increased tonnage. The reliability and speed of railroad transportation, including the level of services provided, has graphically lagged behind development in comparable states. What are the causes? The answer is not simple. There were other priorities and there was, perhaps, not enough for everything at that time. The fact remains that little investment was put into railroad tracks and stations.

In the modernization of the transportation process the human factor has and will continue to have into the future a decisive position. Work in all kinds of weather, during day and night, every day and on holidays, and work bearing a great responsibility for human lives and property places high demands on the moral characteristics of workers. Therefore, it is impossible in any place to put up with manifestations of lack of concern for the working conditions of railway workers. In the past, selected professions in transportation have been, by right, accorded certain specific advantages. Some other things are also being considered for the ninth 5-year plan. I cannot promise anything, nothing has yet been settled, but we are dealing seriously with it. We are in favor of the just evaluation of your responsible work. It is necessary to say truthfully that this is not merely a manifestation of some kind of good will but that the prerequisites for the generation of higher values are up to you.

Toward Achieving Preeminent Positions

In the government's policy statement we highlighted the most burning problems in transportation, the problems on which we are concentrating most of our attention. These aims are gradually being fulfilled and are being very tightly controlled.

Last December the CSSR Government approved extensive short-term measures to improve passenger transportation to and from work in 1989 and 1990. We adopted conclusions to develop passenger transportation in the next 5-year plan. We proceeded to accelerate the expansion of Czechoslovak Airlines' aircraft pool and before the end of the year we will consider our course of action for the fundamental modernization of Ruzyne Airport. We have prepared a CSD law which was approved by the Federal Assembly in June. We have approved the long-term concept of railroad transportation in the CSSR. The costs of implementing the program of construction and modernization are estimated at around Kcs300 billion over a period of three 5-year plans. We will realize individual projects gradually in accordance with the possibilities of the national economy.

Already from this brief enumeration, the intensity of work on the restructuring of our transportation system can be seen. It is now up to all the employees in this branch to thoroughly execute the adopted measures. The Ministry of Transportation and Communication, in collaboration with other departments, must play a decisive role in coming to terms with these measures. The demands made on its management will have to increase.

It will not be easy to cope with the delay in the development of the technical base in comparison with advanced countries, but there is no other way. It is impossible to interpret this only as a program of merely catching up with more advanced countries. It is, at the same time, a challenge to acquire preeminent positions where we are capable of it. The successful construction and operation of the underground system in Prague indicate that we have sufficient manufacturing technology and skilled potential to come to terms with the demanding tasks of installing modern means of transportation.

Even on the railroad it is impossible to link restructuring only with large investments and long term prospects. Our public expects an improvement in the quality of transportation and is not satisfied with mere promises. It is possible to resolve some things without large investments and complicated calculations, for example, seeing to the cleanliness of the trains and maintaining the stations. I know that you have already gone into this and that the first results are coming through. However, there should be more of them. It is, after all, within our capabilities. If some kind of bureaucratic barrier is preventing this, we will get rid of it together. Pleasant surroundings will maintain the CSD's good name and will also be a suitable calling card for our country.

Transportation services have become an important element of and one of the fastest growing spheres in international commerce. Transit transportation for freely convertible currency is economically very advantageous. Even in the development of the international division of labor, we will not get by without substantially increasing our initiative and seeking out new forms of work. In railroad transportation we must not shut ourselves away from the world, isolate ourselves from progress in other states, or want to develop and produce everything ourselves at any price. On the contrary, we must expand cooperative ties more decisively than before and we must better utilize the advantages of bilaterally beneficial collaboration.

In our country it is not enough merely to call for higher quotas from the state budget but the proper entrepreneurial spirit in knowing how to acquire financial resources should also apply here. The government will create conditions for the maximum utilization of the CSD's considerable material, scientific-technical, and skilled potential. We are convinced that you will respond to this with political and working activity and with further innovative deeds to the benefit of our socialist homeland.

I apologize if, with my critical words and demands, I have deviated a little from the ceremonial nature of your holiday. I wanted to share some ideas with you and to rouse your interest in resolving problems. I repeat once more—a lot of difficult work awaits us and only united efforts will lead to the improvements which society is expecting from us.

On behalf of the party and government delegation, I thank all Czechoslovak Railroad workers for their honest endeavors and for the results which they have achieved.

Dangerous Radioactivity Levels in Czech Town

AU0310113189

[Editorial report] Prague VIKEND No. 39, the weekend supplement of Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 30 September, publishes on page 1 a 3,000-word article by Michaela Pazourkova and Zdenek John entitled "The Principle of Disintegration." The article discusses problems caused by the discovery of "excessive doses of radioactivity" in the houses of the town of Jachymov in West Bohemia.

The authors note that, although uranium ore extraction in Jachymov stopped in 1964 when the local mines were closed down, the problem of radioactivity has not disappeared because many locals have been using the gangue as a cheap and easily available building material.

Following the discovery of gamma rays in the cellar one of these houses, "health officers" reportedly arrived in the town about 10 years ago to measure radioactivity levels in all houses in the town. These measurements have produced the "shocking result," the authors continue, that "the levels of radon and its spin-off products in Jachymov are much more serious than the gamma rays themselves.

The authors go on to explain that radon is a radioactive gas formed by the disintegration of uranium and, consequently, of radium which, once inhaled, "operates as an independent source of radiation inside the human body." According to Josef Thomas, an expert from the Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology in Prague, measurements have shown that about 50 percent of all houses in Jachymov show radon levels in excess of the "set limit" of 200 becquerel per cubic meter, while about 25 percent of all houses show levels in excess of 500 becquerel, "which is a level at which something needs to be done quickly." Zdenek Spurny from the Radiation Dosimetry Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, another expert cited in the article, reports that scientists have not yet discovered a way of eliminating radon and that the only advice he can give the affected people is to air their houses as often as possible.

In conclusion, the authors stress the need to quickly evacuate people from the affected houses and to find alternative accommodation for them or give them a chance to live elsewhere. In this connection they interview L. Janeczek, secretary of the Jachymov national committee, who tells them that the town lacks the resources to deal with this problem and that it has been trying to "get this problem on the government's agenda, so far to no avail."

Organization To Protect Consumers To Be Set Up

AU2909172389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Sep 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee Presidium"]

[Excerpts] Prague (CTK)—At its meeting on Wednesday [27 September], the CSSR National Front Central Committee Presidium discussed and took note of a report on the course of work on the drafting of a new CSSR, Czech Socialist Republic, and Slovak Socialist Republic Constitution. The session, which was chaired by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, approved the course to be pursued in discussing the new constitution in National Front bodies and organizations prior to its submission to an all-people's discussion. [passage omitted]

Furthermore, the CSSR National Front Central Committee Presidium dealt with the legislative foundation of the protection of the rights of consumers and with the suggestion to set up a council of consumers in the CSSR. It called attention to the need to effectively resist, on the basis of a consistent application of valid laws and regulations, all forms of harming the interests of consumers. [passage omitted] One possibility of improving the situation in this area would be to set up a council of consumers within the framework of the National Front. Its task would be to associate on a voluntary basis citizens as well as organizations and institutions, with the chief aim of protecting the legitimate interests of consumers. [passage omitted]

The session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee Presidium approved the appropriation of Kcs70 million from the United Fund for Armenia for the construction of a primary school for 480 pupils at Spitak, with the aim of alleviating the consequences of the earthquake of last December. [passage omitted]

Honecker Addresses Antifascists 3 Oct

LD0310211189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1524 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The establishment of workers' and peasants' power, of socialism on German soil, was a defeat for German militarism and imperialism and a victory for the healthy forces of the German people, especially for the working class and its party—the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. This was stressed by Erich Honecker in Berlin today at a meeting with antifascist resistance fighters and activists of the 1st hour. Pioneers of the first workers' and peasants' state on German soil and founding members of the SED and also of the parties allied with it were invited to the festive reception on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR (7 October).

Erich Honecker said: In 4 decades, it has been confirmed that the existence of the socialist GDR is a bit of good luck for our people and for the peoples of Europe. Through it, security and stability on our continent acquired a firm cornerstone. Firmly anchored in the Warsaw Pact, our state is a conspicuous sign of what can be achieved when the exploitation of man by man is abolished and there is persistent work for lasting peace. With the revolutionary transformation and the numerous reforms over the 40 years of the GDR, we have made a great stride forward on the path of socialist construction.

As a result of the determination of the working class, the cooperative peasants, and the intelligentsia, successes unparallelled in the history of our people were scored, even if this is still not undestood everywhere, Erich Honecker said.

The general secretary of the SED Central Committee referred to the great achievements in housing construction, which make clear the changes in the material and cultural life of our people and its youth. With satisfaction, without self-satisfaction and arrogance, we can say today that we succeeded in building a society in which mass unemployment is unknown despite rising labor productivity. Although our housing construction program is still to be completed, we have no homeless people in the GDR. Fortunately, there is no drugs mafia, no baby trafficking, as is the case in the FRG. Socially secure conditions go hand-in-hand in our country with augmenting material values. Our society is performance-orientated, but does not forget those who require nursing and care for health reasons.

Those for whom socialism has been a thorn in the flesh since the victory of the Red October in 1917 certainly cannot bear it in the shape of the GDR on German soil. It is thought in the FRG now, above all, that the GDR can be lifted off its hinges through an all-out attack. This will not come to anything, however. The more vociferous the yelling about the "continuation of the German Reich in the borders of 1937," about a "change of the status quo in Europe," about a "caring duty for all Germans" and the more insolently one breaks one's promise there in the implementation of humanitarian acts, the clearer will be our response, Erich Honecker said.

The GDR is and remains a strong safety barrier against all attempts to revise the outcome of World War II and postwar developments—the territorial and political realities in Europe, Erich Honecker said. The GDR is also—and remains—a safety barrier against neonazism of the type of Schoenhuber and his followers, which has appeared on the scene in the FRG and is tolerated and encouraged as if the "Thousand Year Reich" with its barbarousness, its terrible campaign of conquest, had never existed. Their electoral gains in the Federal Republic are a fresh reminder for all. We, at any rate, are called upon to increase our vigilance, to strengthen the GDR as a socialist state, and to help ensure that fascism can never again plunge the world into the misfortune of another war.

Erich Honecker underlined that we are happy at the news that Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush will hold a summit in the spring or in the early summer of next year. Just as welcome is the progress that was recently made or held up as a prospect for the future by the USSR and the United States in respect of the reduction of strategic offensive weapons and in other areas of disarmament. That strengthens our determination tirelessly to continue our own activities, in accordance with the joint peace program of the Warsaw Pact, which seeks to keep the disarmament process going and to promote it.

Over and above the positive elements in the international situation, we do not disregard the fact that there cannot yet be any talk of a fundamental change in favor of detente, Erich Honecker said. NATO continues to pursue its concept of "nuclear deterrence", and only recently Herr Woerner insisted once again on maintaining nuclear weapons. But if today it is futile—and it is —to toy with the idea of military superiority and accept the risk of a nuclear war, then it is equally futile to continue to steadily pile up the huge arsenals of these terrible weapons. They must be reduced and conventional arms and armed forces must be reduced. One should say here that in spite of the GDR's unilateral measures to reduce the NVA [National People's Army] by 10,000 men, not a single soldier of the FRG Wehrmacht has so far been cut.

In his toast, Erich Honecker recalled that people from all classes in German society, regardless of ideology and religion, saw it as their duty to bring down the Hitler dictatorship during the time of the "Third Reich," as German patriots, humanists, and internationalists. When in May 1945 the Red Army knocked on the gates of Berlin and took it within a few days, the hour of freedom had come for the peoples of the world, for our people, and for us personally, said the SED general secretary. May one never forget that it was the Soviet Union, its victorious Red Army which bore the main burden in smashing fascism in the anti-Hitler coalition. May one never foget that it was also German patriots

and internationalists who sacrificed their lives in the struggle against Hitler fascism. Liberation from Hitler fascism was for us all the beginning of a new life, a new life for our people.

It is not without emotion that today we think back, Erich Honecker said, to the uplifting event of 7 October 1949, when the first workers' and peasants' state on German soil was proclaimed: the German Democratic Republic. On the basis of previous discussions in all zones on the draft constitution for a unified German Republic, which was produced by the people's movement for unity and just peace, our German Democratic Republic came into being supported by millions of people. The speaker drew attention to the fact that it was headed by such personalities as Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewoh, Walter Ulbricht, Max Fechner, Otto Nuschke, Johannes Dieckmann, Lothar Bolz, and Ernst Goldenbaum, Bertolt Brecht, Johannes R. Becher, Anna Seghers, Arnold Zweig, Willi Bredel, Erich Weinert and Ernst Busch. Hardly any of us could fully imagine in 1949 the advance our socialist state would make up to the present day in the political, economic, social and intellectual and cultural fields, Erich Honecker said.

[East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German at 1705 GMT on 3 October carries a recording of Honecker's address including the following remarks, not included in the ADN report, which are made at this point in his speech:

"At the time, there was no lack of prophets of doom, although they knew full well that their prophesies were built on shaky ground. Our British colleague, Robert Maxwell, rightly said yesterday at a press briefing here in Berlin that what we had created in 40 years represents a fantastic achievement. The GDR, he said, has arisen from ruins, has experienced the cold war, and has had to overcome and master this problem. Despite (?all this), it prevailed and has become an important industrial state in Europe. Those who have achieved this, he said, can be very proud. The GDR will exist for another 40 years or more. He is right. (applause) Moreover, he said—I had a comprehensive talk with him—in the future, there can be a rapprochement between, but certainly no reunification of the two German states. We are all in favor of two German states, he said, a capitalist one and a socialist state. It was this socialist state, dear friends and comrades, that we created jointly together with millions of citizens of the German Democratic Republic. (applause)"]

The meeting at the Central Committee building was attended by members and candidates of the SED Central Committee Politburo—for example Prime Minister Willi Stoph and Parliamentary Preisdent Horst Sindermann; by the chairmen of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany, of the Christian-Democratic Union, of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany, and of the National Democratic Party of Germany, and by representatives of the country's mass organizations.

Suspension of Visa-Free Travel Explained

LD0310225289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1822 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After consultations with the CSSR Government, the GDR Government has decided to suspend temporarily visa-free tourist traffic between the two countries for GDR citizens. Unfortunately, many people who are loyal to their socialist state and who want to spend well-earned vacations in our neighboring country will be affected by these temporary travel difficulties. It is also pointed out that they do not need to forgo a vacation in the CSSR if they immediately apply for a visa. The temporary suspension of the passport and visa-free traffic between the GDR and the CSSR has occurred because, notwithstanding the GDR's readiness for normalization of the situation, a campaign of slander has and is being waged with the aim of manipulating people for Bonn's political ends.

The Bonn government, in breach of the Vienna convention on diplomatic missions, has misused its embassies in Prague and Warsaw to implement what it presumptuously calls a "duty to care" for all Germans. In so doing, it has, through the illegal acceptance of GDR citizens, consciously and irresponsibly brought about an intolerable situation in its embassies, especially for the children there, and which also gave rise to the danger of an outbreak of epidemics.

As is known, in an effort to put an end to a situation which it had not caused, the GDR Government decided in a humanitarian way that the persons from the GDR who had been in these embassies illegally should be deported to the FRG via the GDR on GDR State Railway trains. This is what occurred, although many GDR citizens did not see it as a humanitarian act, since they say those people betrayed their fatherland. The GDR Government's humanitarian act was linked to the hope that Bonn would draw conclusions for normal operations, in line with international customs, in its embassies. The FRG Government had assured the CSSR, as its government spokesman announced yesterday, that there would be no repetition of a similar situation.

Bonn has not adhered to this. On the contrary: The FRG has undertaken efforts to bring about an untenable situation in its Prague embassy by continuing the illegal reception of persons from the GDR.

As reports available to the GDR substantiate, certain circles in the FRG are preparing further provocations for the 40th anniversary of the GDR, which are directed against calm and order. It includes the show that is currently being staged once again in the FRG's Prague embassy. It remains incomprehensible how actions of this kind can be squared with the alleged efforts by the FRG to develop cooperation between the FRG and the GDR in accordance with the two-page Bonn communique. A stop must be put to all these attempts in the interests of GDR citizens and in the interests of peace for

the peoples of Europe. Bonn should at last consider what damage the campaign against the GDR has already inflicted. Bonn does not even have any qualms about breaking its word. All of this rebounds against the people, the citizens in the two German states.

The temporary measure that has now become necessary was, as has already been said, taken with the agreement of the CSSR Government. The sooner the FRG changes its behavior, which runs counter to international law, the sooner the temporary ban on passport and visa-free traffic between the GDR and the CSSR can be lifted.

Vogel Repeats Exit Guarantee for Refugees

AU0310150689 Hamburg BILD in German 3 Oct 89 p 5

[Karl Ludwig Guensche report: "Vogel Repeats Exit Guarantee"]

[Text] Bonn—The East Berlin attorney and Honecker aide Wolfgang Vogel has repeated the exit guarantee for GDR citizens who seek refuge in the FRG missions. He told BILD that "it also applies to those who are now in the embassies." That means that those who return to the GDR voluntarily will not be punished and can emigrate to the FRG within 6 months. He said that the guarantee also applies to refugees who seek refuge in the embassies in the coming months. Vogel: "The 6-month time frame will even be reduced, if possible."

Vogel heatedly rejected reports that GDR citizens were arrested, even though he had guaranteed impunity to them. "There is no such case," he said and added that it was possible that "occasionally" there was "a bureaucratic failure." Vogel: "If I hear about such a thing, it is corrected immediately." He said that the people concerned could rely on his word.

Yesterday Vogel met with State Secretary Priesnitz for secret talks in West Berlin. The topic they discussed: How can the exit of more GDR citizens be organized? According to information obtained by BILD, 500 citizens have temporarily returned to the GDR.

Honecker, Others Mark 40th PRC Anniversary

AU0310222789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Sep-1 Oct 89 p 1

[ND report: "GDR and PRC Stand Side by Side in Struggle of Our Time"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin—Friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the PRC have a great future, great prospects. This idea charcterized the festive event on Friday [29 September], which was organized by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the National Council of the GDR National Front on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, in the German State Opera Unter den Linden. With great cordiality, the participants welcomed Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and other members of the party and state leadership, who took their places on the podium. Further personages of the republic's social life as well as working people from all fields of the national economy attended the event. [passage omitted]

In addition to Erich Honecker, the following people were present: Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Guenter Schabowski, and Gerhard Schuerer; and Zhang Dake, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PRC to the GDR.

Also present were Genther Maleuda, deputy chairman of the State Council; Lother Kolditz, president of the National Council of the National Front and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; additional members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee; and members of the Council of Ministers, the State Council, and the People's Chamber Presidium.

Among the guests were Joseph Akl, doyen of the diplomatic corps and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lebanon; other diplomats; Army General Boris Snetkov, commander in chief of the Western Group of the USSR Armed Forces; and Colonel General Nikolay Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Administration. [passage omitted]

Congratulatory Message Sent

AU0410102189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Sep-1 Oct 89 p 1

[ND report: "Cordial Congratulations From GDR to Fraternal Chinese People"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council; Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; and Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber, have sent the following congratulatory telegram to Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee; PRC President Yang Shangkun; Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council; and Wan Li, chairman of the Standing Committee of the PRC National People's Congress:

Esteemed Comrades:

On the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, we convey to you, the CPC Central Committee, the National People's Congress, the government, and the fraternal Chinese people most cordial greetings and

congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the People's Chamber, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the GDR.

Under the leadership of the CPC, the Chinese people have achieved impressive successes in establishing a new socialist China and have successfully defended the achievements of socialism against the internal and external reaction. The people of the GDR are observing with great affinity the enormous efforts of the Chinese Communists and all working people of the PRC in reaching the demanding goals of further socialist modernization and in implementing the decisions of the 13th CPC Congress.

With the meetings of the leading representatives of the two parties and states, a new stage of overall cooperation has been introduced for the welfare of our two peoples and in the interest of consolidating peace and strengthening socialism. Thus, today we can note with satisfaction a steady deepening of the traditional friendship and fraternal relations between our parties, states, and peoples.

The GDR and the PRC are linked by the joint struggle to establish a lasting peace in the world and to improve the international situation. They are making an active contribution to averting the danger of a nuclear confrontation.

We wish the Chinese people further successes in the building of socialism and we wish you, esteemed comrades, good health and creative energy in your responsible work.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers;

Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber.

Gerlach Favors Integrating Opposition

AU0310140689 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 30 Sep-1 Oct 89 p 7

[Abridged version of speech by Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, given at an event organized by the Political Committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Liberal Democratic Party on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of the critical publicist Carl von Ossietzky: "Carl von Ossietzky—a German Jacobin"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Ossietzky was a troublesome warner after whom enterprises, schools, and roads have been named, and who is an idol for many citizens, particularly young ones.

Ossietzky, the unbending publicist, linked German patriotism with the love of peace, with nonconformism, with the passionate search for the truth in a way that has not ceased to exert an influence, that encourages but also provokes and disquiets us today.

We should beware of falling into the temptation, however great it may be, to use the 100th anniversary of Carl von Ossietzky's birth to praise ourselves and put ourselves in the spotlight according to the slogan: What he strove for we —more knowledgeable and politically more astute—have completed. No, that would mean carping, which is unproductive, and worse still it stops us from dealing constructively with the past.

Thinking about Ossietzky means thinking about the origin of fascist, extreme right-wing efforts that pose a danger for democracy, about their multifariousness and their terrible consequences, but also thinking about various illusions and far-reaching omissions on the part of those forces that struggled against fascism and the danger of war. Thinking about Ossietzky means exploring experiences and possibilities within political alliances, and not concealing errors and mistakes; it means thinking about the nature of a democracy that establishes a permanent link between the citizens and the state, and which encourages them and is capable of averting danger from both on a timely basis. Thinking about Ossietzky requires thinking about oneself at this time: about personal commitment and responsibility, about morals and political consciousness. Ossietzky sharpens our sense of law and justice. It startles us out of political inactivity, of the desire to adapt oneself to the present conditions for the sake of supposed protection. Ossietzky called on everybody to intervene in public affairs and to speak out loudly, to be citizens without whom the state does not function for the citizens. [passage omitted]

We would be hypocritical toward Carl von Ossietzky if we did not face up to the fact that in our country, too, there are manifestations of xenophobia, anti-Semitism, German chauvinism, and violence whose originators and admirers, regardless of whether they call themselves skinheads or gather in some sort of fan clubs, do not protest against being compared with the West German Republicans. Groups that call themselves Faschos profess their views even openly!

Such aggression, this dropping out of society amounts to rowdyism and is punished as such. But it is politically motivated and attempts to justify itself politically, and for this reason we must counter it politically. Ossietzky called for such actions to be countered resolutely and not to play them down unwillingly by criminalizing them.

Often there is the uncontrollable desire at the beginning to break out of predetermined paths and security which are felt to be chains; many young people's inability and unwillingness to deal with society in a democratic manner is expressed in this. However, their protests also contain questions that we have to answer. We must listen and recognize the questions they are asking and find answers. This is our responsibility! [passage omitted]

What Ossietzky was concerned about was the terrible vision that the republic might be ruined by the mutual intolerance of antifascists with different ideologies. The fact that political vigilance is beginning to be turned against those citizens who want to cooperatively participate in the shaping of socialism in accordance with their democratic understanding of humanism and their dedication to their fellow men, but are running the risk of being excluded as troublemakers, fills the liberal democrats with sorrow today. In such cases we speak up and say: Goodwill is being misinterpreted here; critical thoughts are being ascribed to antisocialists as outpourings of bourgeois ideology; willingness to do something and commitment are sometimes rejected as attempts to form an opposition because the usual rules are not observed.

However, the citizens' socialist consciousness of the state uses the socialist Constitution as a yardstick. Putting forward arguments is not resistance. Political trust grows in public dialogue, through critical arguments which aim at a meeting of minds but which do not have to develop into unanimity in every case. This is a permanent democratic process.

Opponents of socialism know of our problems, of our contradictions and adversities. A reflection in the media and popular forums would not reveal the weakness of the worker-peasant power, but, on the contrary, would draw attention to the political intelligence of citizens from all strata and of the members of all parties. Meanwhile, there is a wide gap between the public image of our country and its realities. Issues raised by developments in socialist countries (both in Hungary and Poland, but also in the PRC and Romania) reflect concern and irritation and have the effect—because they are largely ignored in public—of a loss of credibility and allow opponents to gain ground. If, on the other hand, thoughts on socialism, its renewal and democratization are articulated, we are practicing tolerance in the spirit of Carl von Ossietzky, and then there will be no room for those who pretend to think differently but are in reality preparing to act in an alternative manner. [passage omitted]

20,000th GDR Refugee Crosses Austrian Border

LD0310181289 Budapest MTI in English 1217 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 3 (MTI) - Tuesday dawn saw the 20,000th GDR citizen crossing the border to Austria at Hegyesholom, but thousands left at other points, mainly Sopron.

The storm brewing early Tuesday morning did not dampen the determination of refugees: Two people arrived from Czechoslovakia along the stretch of the Danube between Rajka and Esztergom, putting the number of GDR citizens who have swum across the Danube or come by boat, inflatable mattress or simply clung to logs, to 332.

After being given a very welcome hot drink and meal by the border guards, they were allowed to leave unhindered via Hegyeshalom.

Romanian Call for PZPR 'Interference' Criticized

LD0210151789 Budapest MTI in English 1228 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 2 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] has flatly refused a call by the Romanian Communist Party for interference in Poland's internal affairs, Geza Kotai, head of the HSWP Central Committee department for international party relations, told a "NEPSZABADSAG" correspondent.

Mr Kotai pointed out, "We have made it quite plain that in our view, the formation of the Polish Government is going ahead along parliamentary lines: The people had the chance to decide what kind of government they wanted at free elections.

"In present-day Europe, the fate of a nation is decided by the majority of the society in that country, and not by one of its parties. We categorically reject the idea of any interference here, and the Warsaw Treaty can give no grounds for such action."

Mr Kotai says that in his opinion, what happened in Czechoslovakia in 1968 or in Poland in 1981 should not be repeated in Hungary. Asked if there was a similar Romanian stand about the "Hungarian events" which might have been forwarded to the other parties, Mr Kotai said that, contrary to the rumours circulating before the Warsaw Treaty's Bucharest summit, no such question was raised there.

Answering another question, he states that the Hungarian-Romanian relationship shows no change or any sign of early improvement. In his opinion, there is no such thing as a Berlin-Prague-Bucharest axis, although the parties of the three countries do hold identical views. Similarly, though the Soviet, Hungarian and Polish ways of thinking are highly similar, no "reform alliance" has emerged between them.

CSSR's Stepan Visits, Talks With Leaders

Grosz Meets Stepan

LD3009190189 Budapest MTI in English 1729 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 30 (MTI)—On Saturday, Karoly Grosz, HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] general secretary, met Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPC CC [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee] Presidium and first secretary of the CPC Prague Committee, who is paying a brief visit to Hungary on the invitation of the HSWP Budapest Committee. The meeting was attended by Mihaly Jasso, member of the HSWP Political Executive Committee and first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee, and Vlastimil Ehrenberger, ambassador of Czechoslovakia to Hungary.

Prague Radio Reports Meeting

LD3009233789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee, today received in Budapest Miroslav Stepan, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chief secretary of the Prague city party committee. Both representatives exchanged views on the situation in their respective countries and on the tasks facing party organizations in both capitals. Karoly Grosz informed his guest about topical questions concerning the preparation of the forthcoming party congress, as well as about the basic currents and trends which reflect the overall social and political situation in the country. Miroslav Stepan conveyed to him the greetings from Milos Jakes, Czechoslovakia's highest party representative, and informed him about the preparations of the 18th party congress.

In an interview given to a CTK correspondent, Miroslav Stepan pointed to the importance of providing immediate mutual information of good quality about the processes of transformations in individual socialist countries. He described the relations between Prague and Budapest as of special importance and stressed the interest in good contacts especially in the current period.

Stepan Praises Ties

LD0110201189 Prague CTK in English 1855 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest Oct 1 (CTK correspondent)—General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Karoly Grosz received here Saturday Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and chief secretary of the Prague City Party Committee Miroslav Stepan, who was on a one-day working visit to Hungary.

The two representatives exchanged views on the situation in both countries, and the tasks of the party organisations in the two capitals. Karoly Grosz informed the

Czechoslovak guest of the preparations for the forthcoming party congress and also of fundamental tendencies reflecting the overall social and political situation in the country.

The meeting was attended by first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Budapest City Committee Mihaly Jasso, at whose invitation the visit took place.

Talks with Mihaly Jasso focused on the internal development in Czechoslovakia and Hungary and experience from the current course of restructuring of the economic and social life in the two capitals.

In an interview for CTK, Miroslav Stepan pointed to the significance of high-quality and speedy exchange of information on changes in individual socialist countries. The Czechoslovak public is interested in changes carried out in Hungary these days, not only from a general political poin of view, but also because Czechoslovakia wants to have a good neighbour in the south, Miroslav Stepan said.

He described relations between Prague and Budapest as extremely important and underlined the interest in good contacts mainly at present. Appreciating the Budapest city party organisation's positive response to the initiative of the Prague City Party Committee for holding a meeting of all leading party secretaries of the European socialst capitals in November, he said that this action is of great significance as the public pays ever more attention to life in the capitals.

Miroslav Stepan pointed out that the situation in Hungary is now more difficult, and appreciated the fact that members of the Budapest City Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party have their own ideas about a solution to the present situation and attempt to push them through at present.

Hungarians Stall Economic Talks With USSR

LD2909200689 Budapest MTI in English
1515 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 29, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Soviet Union is ready to change over to convertible accounting in its trade with Hungary from January 1, 1989, Eduard Kosobuko, deputy head of the USSR trade representation in Hungary, said in Budapest on Friday.

Talks are underway on how the change-over should take place, but the Hungarians are against a final conclusion of the agreement until the Hungarian Parliament has approved the move, said Mr Kosobuko.

However, Soviet trade representatives believe the real reason for the delay is that the change-over to convertible accounting would initially be disadvantageous to Hungary. Talks are therefore underway on new prices, irrespective of the change going through, the Soviet trade diplomat told MTI-ECONEWS.

The Hungarian-Soviet trade agreements for this year envisage around 4.3 billion rbls' worth of trade on each side. However so far this year, the Hungarian have run up a balance surplus of 580 million rbls, which both partners are looking to reduce to 170 million rbls by the end of the year. This is to be achieved by both reducing the number of Hungarian tourists to the USSR and increasing fuel and energy deliveries from the Soviet Union.

While the Hungarian Government is strongly in favour of a change in the accounting system, it estimates that a change-over to dollar accounting would cost Hungary between 800 million and 2 billion USD in lost trade. It is therefore looking to the Soviet Union to partly finance the Hungarian losses in the form of credits before it agrees to the change-over.

Grosz Meets Visiting U.S. Bankers, Holds Talks

LD0310015389 Budapest MTI in English
1533 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 2 (MTI) —Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met Joe Albritton, president of the US Riggs Bank, and his entourage on Monday.

Talks were held about possibilities for developing Hungarian-US economic and financial relations.

Pozsgay Receives Finnish Labor Minister

LD0110194389 Budapest MTI in English
1827 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 1 (MTI)—Finnish Minister of Labour Matti Puhakka headed a delegation to Hungary for a visit from September 27 to October 1, at the invitation of State Secretary Csaba Halmos, president of the State Office for Wages and Labour. Mr Puhakka held talks on the concrete cooperation possibilities with which the Finnish side wishes to assist the solution of the Hungarian labour problems. The Finnish delegation also held talks with leaders of the Hungarian Labour Safety and Labour Inspectorate, on extending labour safety cooperation.

Mr Puhakka met Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, president of the Hungarian-Finnish society, and held talks with Pal Ivanyi, member of the Political Executive Committee of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialis Workers' Party] and secretary of the Central Committee.

Trade Office Reopened 1 Oct in Chile

LD0310015689 Budapest MTI in English
1633 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 2 (MTI)—The Hungarian trade agency in Santiago re-opened on October 1st. In line with Hungary's trade policy of re-orientation, the Hungarian Ministry of Trade proposed the Hungarian

Government resume official trade relations with the Republic of Chile eighteen months ago, and that's just what has now happened.

Hungary broke off diplomatic ties with Chile in 1973 after General Pinochet seized power. In August this year, Hungary and Chile agreed to resume diplomatic relations.

Two-way trade between the countries is rather lopsided at the moment, with Hungarian imports totaling about $20 million a year (made up mainly of copper and fish-meal), and Hungarian exports only amounting to $1 or 1.5 million. For its part, Chile imports lighting, pharmaceutical products and chemicals from Hungary.

At present, Hungarian-Chilean trade is considerably down on what it was back in 1973, but a Hungarian Ministry of Trade official says there are signs of turnover hotting up quite a bit. He says Chile, the most dynamically-developing country in South America, is interested in buying Hungarian products, especially machinery, equipment and vehicles.

Two-way ties are developing nicely: just one instance of this is the fact that Hungary is to participate with eight companies at the Santiago international fair, scheduled to begin on October 25. To mark the event, Istvan Horvath, Hungarian minister of industry, is to go to Chile at the head of goodwill mission.

In addition to expanding trade, other forms of business cooperation are also expected to develop: negotiations have been started on the joint manufacture of buses and other mass transport vehicles, as well as the Hungarian export of sea port equipment, such as floating cranes and loading bridges. Other goods to be exported include educational devices and hospital equipment.

Government Welcomes Capitalist States' Support

LD2909223289 Budapest MTI in English 2029 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 29 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government considers that the 24 capitalist states wishing to assist implementation of the Polish and Hungarian reforms have taken a considerable step towards the aims set at the Paris summit meeting.

The Hungarian Government particularly welcomes the fact that theoretical preparatory work has now reached the stage of setting concrete tasks and that the action programme of the 24 also envisages close cooperation in the financial field. Accordingly, the committee is to set up a special fund of 200 million ECU (approx. 250 million dollars) for Hungary and Poland in the 1990 fiscal year, and plans include further support to the value of 100 million ECU.

The government welcomes the announcement of substantive measures to facilitate the marketing of Hungarian goods, the elimination of quantitative restrictions, the granting of general customs preferences and tariff concessions and the easing of impediments to agricultural trade. These initiatives help Hungary avert the danger of regression and carry out the reform expediently, with the least possible conflict. They contribute to accelerating economic modernization and establishing long-term partner relations with the concerned industrialized countries.

The resultant political and economic atmosphere is expected to enable the country to become an equal member of the democratic community of advanced states by peaceful means after a protracted period of crisis. The government has realistic expectations from the November high-level meeting and hopes for the support to start in a few months' time. To this end, it is considered it would be extremely useful for the Common Market to delegate a permanent representative to Budapest.

The government's expert group responsible for the development of cooperation proposes Hungary should obtain a channel on the European Astra satellite with the help of the 24 capitalist countries.

Nyers Comments on Upcoming MSZMP Congress

Determined To Promote Reforms

OW0310132489 Tokyo KYODO in English 1309 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, Oct. 3 KYODO—Rezso Nyers, chief of Hungary's Socialist Workers' Party, on Tuesday expressed his determination to promote reforms in the party at a party congress starting Friday.

Nyers, in an interview with KYODO NEWS SERVICE, said major agenda items for the party congress will be the adoption of a new party platform and the remodeling of the Communist Party into a more democratic and national organization enabling it to cooperate even with social democrats in Western nations. The draft of the new party platform, already approved at a Central Committee meeting last month, seeks an end to the leadership monopoly by the party and increased democratization.

The Central Committee agreed to a plural party system in February. Free general elections are planned for next year. Nyers, 66, elected as party chief in June, did not deny the possibility that conservative members who are opposed to the reforms might leave the party. He said the party congress will see heated discussions on the proposed platform but most party members have shown support. He expects the platform will be adopted. Nyers said the party will put more stress on activities in local chapters while seeking a more national party to represent wage earners, or the majority of the society. The traditional class-oriented policy will diminish in the future, he said.

As for economic reforms, Nyers said the party will seek a market-oriented economy, and expressed hopes of expanding cooperation with Western nations. In this

regard, he called on Japan to expand economic cooperation through joint ventures in the chemical, electronics, food processing and biotechnology fields. He said he wants to visit Japan if he is invited.

Regarding relations with the Soviet Union, Nyers said there is no clear demarcation of reforms of which the Soviet Union will approve, but it is natural for Hungary to try not to invite political instability in its relations with other East European nations. He said the Soviet troops stationed in his country are expected to be withdrawn within 10 years.

Views Prospects

LD0410103789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Rezso Nyers does not rule out the possibility that the conservatives who oppose the reforms might leave the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. The party chairman was speaking about the prospects for the congress, which begins on 6 October, in a statement given to the Japanese news agency, KYODO.

Rezso Nyers said that fierce debate can be expected, but that the delegates will probably accept the platform, because the majority of the party membership supports the proposed political program. The MSZMP chairman said in his interview to the Japanese news agency that there is no clear dividing line regarding those Hungarian reforms of which the Soviet Union still approves. He also said that we are striving to reduce to a minimum the debates with other East European countries.

Trade Union Council Considers Economic Policy

LD0310014989 Budapest MTI in English 1355 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 2, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—The official Hungarian trade unions are all for having a market economy in Hungary, but would like welfare aspects to get a look-in as well, a weekend session of the Central Council of Trade Unions (CCTU) on the movement's economic policy guidelines concluded.

The membership is increasingly sceptical about ploughing ahead with the practice whereby a balanced budget is seen as the be-all and end-all, this, they say, is not the only solution to the current economic problems. They want alternatives, but so far, no party has come up with a programme that has the problems of wage and salary earners at heart, participants at the CCTU meeting complained.

The debate revealed that there was no fundamental disagreement between the unions and the government on such points as the need for an economic opening, the involvement of working capital, boosting of hard-currency exports, a reform of COMECON relations, economic restructuring and ownership reform. It's on the prospects of economic growth that the unions hold fundamentally different views. They believe that the invigoration of the domestic market could actually boost economic performance by 3-4 per cent more than what the government calculates, on this basis, the decline in real wages could be halted sooner than the government-predicted deadline of 1992.

The CCTU considers that backward branches of the economy—the infrastructure and home-building in particular—could very well soon become sunrise branches.

The CCTU has decided to send an open letter to the unions of the 24 Western countries, praising the intention of their governments to assist the economic and social reform processes in Hungary.

Announces Strategy Shift

LD0310145389 Budapest MTI in English 1345 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 3, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—The Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions [CCTU] has announced a change in strategy. From now on, they intend to concentrate their efforts on fighting for wage increases instead of against price rises as they used to.

The CCTU accepts that Hungary should move towards a market economy even though there will be painful consequences, Mr Laszlo Nyikos, head of the CCTU Economic Policy Department, told MTI- Econews. He was reacting to Monday's agreement between the national Council of Agricultural Cooperatives (TOT) and the government on the liberalization of agricultural and food prices next year.

"Free prices should go hand in hand with market-dictated wages: that is, athe proper price should be paid for labour. The CCTU will therefore be pushing for market wages, even at the expense of a wage-price spiral, which some fear will be the consequence," Mr Nyikos said. The CCTU insists that, even in a free-price system, there is a need for prices to be publicly controlled, he added.

Mr Nyikos said producers will probably endorse this endeavour, as they need sufficient purchasing power to be able to sell their higher-priced products.

The CCTU attempted for the first time—and apparently last—time in mid-August to employ a general warning strike as a means of protest against the meat producers' intention to put up prices by 6 per cent. This, the first general strike in thirty years, was successful inasmuch as many people followed the CCTU appeal. It had little effect on the prices, though. The government even accused the unions of anti-reform demagogy, and many people came out and asked the CCTU outright who should pay consumers' prices if not the consumers themselves?

Mr Nyikos said they expected to sit down to talks with government representatives in a fortnight's time. At the government's initiative, the talks are also to be attended

by democratic league of independent unions representatives. Their presence will break the CCTU monopoly of c nparing notes with the government on prices and wages.

Since price rises have, up to now, surpassed the 12-15 per cent inflation targeted for the current year by 2 per cent, the CCTU now intends to milk the government for additional social welfare measures.

78,000 Members Leave MSZMP in 9 Months

LD0310154689 Budapest MTI in English 1212 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 3 (MTI)—This year, 78,000 members have left the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] and only 2,600 newcomers joined its ranks, MTI's correspondent learnt at the party policy department of the HSWP Central Committee. The membership now stands at 725,000.

The 75,000 decrease from January 1 to October 1 has been more or less even territorially speaking. In the industrialized countries, such as Borsod, Komarom and Baranya, where tension is greater, slightly more people are leaving the party than in the eastern regions. The Budapest figure dovetails with the national average.

Estimates put members who do not pay dues at between 8,000 and 10,000, with the majority of them living in the capital. They are probably waiting for the outcome of the congress. Payment of dues decreased from 97 million forints in April to 79 million by late August.

Party Reform Delegates Meet To Define Platform

LD0110162289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] The pro-reform delegates to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress to be held next week have met in Budapest for a consultation. Zoltan Sipos reports from the scene:

[Sipos] The reform (?bloc), that is, the group of congress delegates committed to reform set as the aim of their consultation today the refinement of their ideas and the definition of the platform outlines. What kind of economy and society would we like? What party will be formed after the congress? These are a few considerations on the agenda of the pro-reform consultation. At this stage everyone at the consultation, which has been greeted by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, State Minister Imre Pozsgay, National Assembly Speaker Matyas Szuros, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Gyula Horn represents his own stand. A united stance in prominent issues may be expected at the news conference to held in the evening.

Thus the MSZMP membership committed to reform is endeavoring to formulate, in solidarity, a united stance for the party congress next week. The reform circles expect the reform spirit will be able to show results after the congress.

Coordinate Stance

LD0110224489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] [Presenter] In the runup to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress due to begin on Friday, the representatives of the party's Reform Circles have been coordinating their stances. You will hear the report of Zoltan Sipos:

[Sipos] The reform-committed congress delegates have held what could be called a strategic meeting. Their endeavors, apart from determining the outlines of the platform, were also directed against something, which they also formulated in their appeal. In other words, against those party leaders who consider the forthcoming 14th congress as well to be a cosmeticizing forum extorting sham unity, but also against those who from the outset want to force a party rift. At the consultation, which was greeted by Miklos Nemeth, Imre Pozsgay, Matyas Szuros and Gyula Horn, the participants debated their Congress endeavours compiled on the basis of proposals by the Reform Circles. These include the future Hungarian Socialist Party's disassociation from the MSZMP's past, the pronouncing of responsibility for everything that has happened in Hungarian society in the past decades, and which was not socialism, that as a matter of fact socialism was only made ugly but was not annihilated.

A few more reform endeavors: As the party of a new political—and not world—outlook, they accept the 1,000-year-old universal human values of Christianity. They have no common path with those who, cynically puffed up, want to impose final decisions by force of arms. As a matter of fact they do not lay claim, as a party, to any kind of armed body.

Another of their resolutions is that the assets in the MSZMP's management must be given back to the government, and it is necessary for an account to be drawn up of these assets.

They take a stand against those forces which want to make the work-places the arena of party political battles, and I could go on listing the intentions of the eventual Hungarian Socialist Party.

At the end of the session the participants adopted a statement in which they founded the Congress Reform Association [kongresszusi reformszoevetseg].

MSZDP National Conference To Be Held in Nov

LD0110203789 Budapest MTI in English 1900 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 1 (MTI)—The Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) is to hold its national

congress in Budapest from November 4 to 6. The main aim of the congress will be to renew the party, to approve a programme and to elect officials who are creditworthy to all social democrats—it was announced at the national working conference of the party which ended on Sunday. The most important result of the two-day event was that all tendencies within the party were represented and, although there were arguments, the unity of MSZDP was demonstrated.

There was agreement at the conference that one delegate shall be nominated for every ten members, and no single platform or tendency shall enjoy advantages in the election of delegates. The view that the Social Democratic Party be a party focused on action, rather than on leadership, prevailed, therefore, many participants do not feel it necessary to elect a president and a vice-president. In their view, a general-secretary should head the party, and secretaries should be elected.

It was announced that the women's movement of the MSZDP was re-founded on September 21. This movement looks back on a past of some 100 years, and its most important goal is to elevate the social situation of women to a worthy level. The MSZDP women's movement would like to cooperate with the Western social democratic women's movements, and to utilize their experiences in its work.

Opposition Urges Worker Guard's Disbandment

LD3009105789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0005 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 29 (TANJUG)—Members of opposition movements, of the democratic youth union (FIDEZ) [Federation of Young Democrats] and the Union of Free Democrats above all, protested in several places in Hungary.

In Budapest, several hundred people gathered and expressed their wish to live in Hungary without violence and fear. After speeches held on the occasion, their column came in front of the Worker Guard Command and handed a petition insisting on the people's disbanding the said organisation of about 60,000 armed guards by referendum.

The worker guard came into being in 1957 with the task of helping with putting the country in order after bloody developments in the autumn before. Later on, its members took part in doing away with consequences of natural disasters, regulated traffic, stood on guard in front of party buildings and did like duties. In the general public, they were characterised, however, as a militia of the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) with no place left in the future multiparty system.

Christian Democratic Party Holds Assembly

LD3009171189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Summary] For the first time in 40 years the Christian Democratic People's Party is holding a delegates' assembly whose task is to debate and adopt the party's statute and program, and to elect the permanent leadership. The festive address was delivered by (Sandor Keresztes) who said the party wants a democratic multiparty system and prosperity for the people. He said that the present crisis has moral causes and for this reason their party wishes to overcome this moral crisis on the basis of Christian ideas. Their membership at present can be put at about 3,000, but they trust that they will be able to get into Parliament after the forthcoming free elections. It was the predecessor of this party, the Democratic People's Party, under Istvan Barankovics, which obtained the biggest opposition vote at the last democratic election in Hungary, in 1947.

Delegates Address Rally

LD3009202989 Budapest MTI in English 1937 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 30 (MTI)—The Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP) held its first national rally in Budapest on Saturday [30 September] with 154 delegates representing the 2,000-3,000 party members. Representatives of the West European Christian Democratic Parties and the Polish Solidarity were also in attendance.

Sandor Keresztes, president of the organizing committee, emphasized that the CDPP was not a nostalgic party. It set the aim that the Hungarian people should create a state of law based on a multi-party system and be integrated again into the community of European peoples. Until the elections, the CDPP will play the role of constructive opposition and belong to the advocates of reforms.

Wim Van Velzen, chairman of the Dutch Christian Democratic appeal, appreciated the CDPP's draft programme and announced that the party would be admitted to the European Christian Democratic People's Party. A representative of the Belgian Fraternal Party said that the borders of Europe did not coincide with the one-time iron curtain, and proposed to build a new Europe with common effort. Hanja Haij-Heggen, deputy president of the Christian Democratic group of the European Parliament, expressed the hope that the CDPP would contribute to the establishment of democracy, social justice and personal freedoms. She emphasized that the group had established good relations with all democratic forces in Hungary. She added that the European Parliament was holding talks on political and economic support. The sum is not yet known but it will be considerable, she said.

A leader of the Austrian People's Party spoke about the translation of Christian values into social and economic

life. The rally was also greeted by representatives of the Christian Socialist union of Bavaria, the Christian-Democratic Union of the FRG and the Polish Solidarity.

The participants in the rally discussed the draft programme, acepted the rules, and elected the following leaders: president—Sandor Keresztes, deputy presidents—Tibor Fuzessy, Istvan Szabo, Laszlo Sesztak, general secretary—Emese Ugrin.

Interior Ministry MSZMP Committee Dissolved

LD0110162189 Budapest MTI in English 1548 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 1 (MTI)—The HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party/MSZMP] organization of the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior took the position that home affairs professional work should not become the arena of party interests and party fights under the circumstances of the multi-party system. Therefore, the activity of the HSWP committee of the Ministry of the Interior has been terminated as of September 30, and the HSWP organizations active in the various Ministry of the Interior workplaces have been asked to gradually discontinue their activity by the end of 1989. It was recommended that HSWP members individually decide where and which HSWP organization ouside the workplace they wish to join.

The conference was addressed by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP.

Smallholders Party Opposes Pozsgay Candidacy

LD0110193789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] The Independent Smallholders' Party does not support Imre Pozsgay's nomination to the post of president of the Republic. This was said by Imre Boros, the party's principal attorney, at the rally that was held in Csongrad. He said that if need be, the party membership will be called on to boycott the elections. For the time being, the Smallholders' Party has not decided whether to put up its own candidate for president of the Republic. The party's Greater Budapest Executive Committee, however, has proposed that Otto Habsburg be nominated for president of Hungary.

Marxist-Leninist Petress Conspiracy Case Dropped

LD0110123389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] The prosecutor's office has refused to investigate in the case of Sandor Petress who was reported to the police by the Hungarian Radical Party and the Independent Smallholders Party which accused him of conspiracy. Sandor Petress, organizer of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Workers, declared in August that his party would take a stand—even with arms—against only having intellectuals sit in the parliament. In the course of the investigation, the prosecutor's office has concluded that the crime of conspiracy cannot be proved because the statement in MAI NAP referred to a hypothetical situation and lacked any real foundation.

Kiraly Assembly Speech Questions State Villas

LD2809170889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1257 GMT 28 Sep 89

[From the relay of the Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest on 28 September—live]

[Excerpts] [Chairperson] Zoltan Kiraly, deputy from the No.5 Constituency of County Csongrad, has a question for the premier, concerning the subject of housing conditions of former state and party leaders. I hand the floor over to fellow deputy Zoltan Kiraly:

[Kiraly] Esteemed House. In the past years, we have heard and read about quite a lot of dubious housing affairs—just to mention the housing affairs in my region of Szeged. I believe that everyone understands exactly what I am talking about. At the same time, in the past years, numerous state and political leaders have left their positions, who had moved, for the time they held office, into very valuable villas constituting state property. I believe that this was acceptable and fair, in conditions stemming from the party-state character, for the time the high political offices were held. The practice prevails, on a world scale—that citizens holding leading state positions are given a residence from the state for the time of their office: To mention the most widely known examples, Downing Street, or the White House, from where the inhabitants move away once their time of office has expired.

In our country, another practice has emerged, developed. To my knowledge, many people from among former state and political leaders who held high positions, continue, after they have left public life, to live in circumstances in scale with their normal time in office. Allow me to mention but one example, as a description: Karoly Nemeth, former president of the Presidential Council. As an antithesis to this, allow me to mention the other Nemeth, Miklos Nemeth, who—I do not, know, but to me it is nearly certain—lives in an IKV [real estate management enterprise] flat, and who does not have a residence on a scale with that of Karoly Nemeth. To be sure, both of them are IKV flats. Probably, that of Miklos Nemeth was so from the outset; that of Karoly Nemeth became so, or was so—but what a difference!

I should like to emphasize: I personally do not begrudge anyone's living in such villas. However, I ask, because of the matter's principled, political and moral importance: How many people from among the former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Politburo members, presidents of the Presidential Council and chairmen of the Council of Ministers, former deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, and members of the Council of Ministers, have been affected by what I have said in the past 10 years, and state property to the tune of what value is in question here?

I also ask: Under what legal title do they continue to use villas representational for the means of those who are actually holding the positions? My final question is a bit malicious: Please tell me, are there any such inhabitable villas that are suitable for representational purposes still remaining in Budapest? [applause]

[Chairperson] Dr Miklos Raft, chairman of the Office of the Council of Ministers, will reply to the question.

[Raft] Esteemed National Assembly, esteemed Mr Deputy Zoltan Kiraly. [passage omitted] The first part of the question is how the leaders you have mentioned ended up in state villas? I must begin the reply by saying that, in the previous power mechanism, which can now be judged as having been transcended, the main possessors of power, that is, those holding positions that expressed this, were given relatively little pay, and this pay was supplemented by certain benefits. Thus, alongside the small pay, the main leaders were entitled to a state villa. [passage omitted] The possessors of the villas were given these villas for the accommodation of their families, and on the basis of lawful leaseholds, they are inhabited even now by those who no longer hold high state positions.

Among the touchy issues is that if the previous leaders inhabit these villas as leaseholds, this, in accordance with the general regulations of the legal relationship pertaining to leaseholds, entails not only obligations—thus, rent must be paid, public utility charges must be paid—but certain rights, as well, for example if they hand over this dwelling, then in accordance with the valid regulations, they can lay claim to a sum amounting to several times the charge for using the dwelling. Beyond this, according to the regulations in force, they can even purchase it. This is where the touchy questions begin. That is so, because although the leasehold relationship is lawful, although it is entirely lawful that the tenants are entitled to rights and obligations, it cannot be viewed entirely acceptable, ethical, socially, if the tenants of the dwellings move back to their homes in the countryside, they hand over the dwelling, and for this, they have recourse to what, otherwide is lawful, ten-fold the charge for using the dwelling. I very much regret that I have to say this here, at this place, but it is a matter pertaining to you and the public—that there are some who accept, indeed ask for, perhaps demand, the charge for using the dwelling. And I have been informed that there have been leaders who, with nearly 1 million forints in their pocket, have gone back to their homes in the countryside - I very much regret that I have to say this, but these truths cannot, must not be handled as a secret. Those who have received these sums obviously have accepted the consequences, even if these belong to the province of moral judgement.

Another touchy issue is related to the launching of large-scale campaigns to sell state dwellings. And there are several who do not want to buy dwellings in which they live. Yet the regulations pertaining to selling dwellings are not (?valid) for, such cases, but for dwellings which can only be maintained at a great cost and are in a state of disrepair. For this reason, we have agreed with the Budapest council that leaders in villas of great value, and leaders in dwellings of outstanding value that are not villas, cannot purchase these dwellings, and we are putting these on a so- called prohibited list. [passage omitted]

Another touchy issue that I must remark on, is whether there remain, in Budapest, villas that are suitable for being transformed into residences. Well, these villas ran out, not now but long ago. [passage omitted] I have to say that the government has recognized that there is justification for the highest state leaders to live in appropriate circumstances, in order to perform their office with humility and represent their nation with worthiness—as it was said here in the premier's expose. For this reason, the government has taken a decision on principle, that it will create residences for the existing president of republic and the premier. Work has begun, and the government plans it so that the person holding the highest state position will move in with a few suitcases, and when this time in office has expired, he will move back to the place from where he moved in. We believe that is a solution of a European standard, one which abides by the rules of constitutional statehood and democracy. [passage omitted]

[Duty Speaker] Esteemed National Assembly, fellow deputies. I wish to all of you good work, preparation for the next session. I now end the session.

[Reporter] With this the September session has now ended. The Parliament will continue its work in October.

Nemeth Predicts Reform of Administration

LD3009020289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] According to Miklos Nemeth, a reform of the administration is unavoidable. The head of government, in reply to a published appeal from the people of Sopron, took a stand in an open letter in favor of self-government being a basic right of every settlement. The people of Sopron had demanded genuine political and economic self-government, for the towns and the villages. Miklos Nemeth emphasized that these endeavors are similar to government's plans.

One Percent Choose Alternative Military Service

LD0310021889 Budapest MTI in English 1929 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 2 (MTI)—Contrary to expectations, much fewer—about 600 people, that is, merely one per cent of the young people drafted—have applied for alternative military service. Five hundred of them chose civilian service, the others service without having to carry weapons, a Defence Ministry spokesman said at a meeting held by the national peace council on Monday on the first experience of alternative military service.

Jozsef Feher also said that 43 young men, Witnesses of Jehovah in their majority, refuse to carry out any service whatsoever.

Sarkadi Nagy Outlines Policy on Churches

LD0110185989 Budapest MTI in English 1615 GMT 1 Oct 89

["State and Church—Interview With Barna Sarkadi Nagy"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, October 1 (MTI)—Freedom of conscience and religion are fundamental human rights which do not tolerate state guardianship—this is the fundamental principle shared by the government. And the task of the state can only be to safeguard the free exercising of the right with a system of guarantees set down by the law. In this spirit, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth's government recently publicly distanced itself from the church policy of the 1950's, the crimes and errors committed then. One of the signs of this is that re-examination of the show-trials dating from those years has begun, including the cases concerning the leaders of the various churches and personalities. The public recently learned that Cardinal Laszlo Paskai asked the prime minister to re-examine the trial of Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty and, in answer to this, the prime minister announced that the case would be treated with particular attention by the governmental organs. The government has also critically re-examined the church policy of the past decades, and has taken the decisions that follow from its examination—said Deputy Minister Barna Sarkadi Nagy, leader of the government's church policy Secretariat, in an interview with MTI.

The law on freedom of conscience and religion is already under preparation, and the churches and denominations are participating in its framing. Another major conclusion drawn by the government in the past period was that state interference and restriction has no place in the internal life of the churches. The government has discontinued the state control of investments by the churches, and the former, bureaucratic system of enrollment in religious instruction in schools, and all state control over the publication of books and periodicals by the churches.

Cooperation between the state and the churches is invariably necessary, Mr Sarkadi Nagy said. The government holds the churches and denominations to be major factors of society which create communities and carry values, and which can fulfill a major role in strengthening moral values and the education of the coming generation.

Budapest, October 1 (MTI)—Answering a question on the possibilities of giving back the buildings formerly owned by the churches to their original owners, Mr Sarkadi Nagy said: Educational, social-welfare, health or cultural activity is currently carried out in most of these buildings. The immediate returning of all buildings would require tremendous sums. The country is not in a position to reduce the number of institutions used for such aims. Continuous talks and the seeking of constant consensus is needed. Several buildings, for instance, the former Capuchin Monastery, or the Fasor Gymnasium (secondary school) in Budapest, have already been returned for utilization by the churches.

Nemeth Receives Leaders of Reformed Church

LD2909225989 Budapest MTI in English 2207 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 29 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth met bishops and lay leaders of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Budapest's Parliament on Friday.

The discussion covered the government's renewable church policy and the important part the churches could play in the process of social renewal, peaceful transition, the acomplishment of tasks facing the country and the moral rise of the nation.

Leaders Receive New Ambassador to France

LD0110194189 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Budapest, October 1 (MTI)—Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Matyas Szuros, speaker of the National Assembly, Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Karoly Grosz HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] general secretary, received Gabor Nagy, Hungarian ambassador accredited to the French republic, who is to shortly leave for his post. [passage omitted]

Skubiszewski UN Visit to New York Ends

Foreign Affairs Minister Returns

LD0310014289 Warsaw PAP in English 1248 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski returned from the 44th session of the U.N. General Assembly to Warsaw today.

During an over week-long visit in New York, the head of Polish diplomacy delivered a speech at the U.N. on the directions of Poland's foreign policy and its participation in the solution of global problems.

He also met with U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and the foreign ministers of many Eastern and Western countries to discuss the key issue of bilateral relations and selected international problems.

TV Interview on Visit

LD0310174189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2125 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] [Presenter] Professor Skubiszewski, as our head of diplomacy, has been on his first foreign visit. The UN organization forum was used by the minister for numerous meetings. He spoke with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and with other politicians. Our New York reporter interviewed Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski about the course of this visit:

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Minister, you are ending a week-long stay in New York connected with the UN General Assembly session. You met the heads of diplomacy of many states. the communiques following such meetings are usually laconic. Could you bring us closer to the course of the talks with the foreign ministers of the great powers, especially of the United States and the Soviet Union, and also, secondly, with our neighbors to the west, the heads of diplomacy of the FRG and the GDR.

[Skubiszewski] I cannot tell you much, for by the nature of things these are confidential conversations. Over and above that, they develop various currents which will only later have their continuation. As to the talks with the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, I met with the Soviet minister twice. Today, I had a long talk with him. It took place in a very good atmosphere, and related to various issues of our bilateral relations. We spoke very openly about them. We have a concurrence of views on significant questions. We also spoke of the wider ties in this part of Europe, that is, about the Warsaw Pact, and also about CEMA. As to this economic organization, I feel it plays a very weak, if indeed any, role in the economic development of the member states, especially Poland. here, There is much room for reform. We also spoke about certain international questions.

[Reporter] Can you say something about Poland and the two German states?

[Skubiszewski] The GDR is our neighbor; we have numerous important economic ties with this state, we have good relations with this state, and we shall continue to have good relations. Please do not forget that for us this is also a state which is a transit state in the direction of the West, which is important to our economic ties with West Berlin, so irrespective of our bilateral relations there is also a broader dimension.

[Reporter] Deputy chancellor Genscher gave some assurances, when speaking at the United Nations, about the inviolability of the Polish borders.

[Skubiszewski] This statement by the deputy chancellor and federal minister, Genscher, is extremely significant. It was stated very strongly. At the same time I would like to say it is a much-needed statement, following various recent declarations on the Polish-German border made by some officials in the FRG. I think the statement by Minister Genscher helps end this debate. Of course, it will not end there, because in West Germany various forces will speak about the border in a way that differs with our view, but this government statement is very significant. Regarding our relations with the FRG, we have certain assurances from West Germany about economic aid and its taking into consideration our urgent economic interests. Here, in the near future, some decisions should be made. There are also other issues which require sorting out. As you know, there is also an alternative channel for discussion in these matters, not just the two foreign ministries in Bonn and Warsaw, but also special plenipotentiaries of the federal chancellor and our premier. These things are interlinked, and I think that in the near future, at least, this is our desire, and such a desire was declared by Federal Minister Genscher, for the sphere of Warsaw-Bonn relations, for the German public and Polish society to have a breakthrough [as heard] in these relations. Anyway, I must say that as regards the relations between the two nations and the two societies, they are today quite normal; much has been done here.

[Reporter] Minister, despite your reservations at the beginning, when you said you could not tell us everything because these are meetings which are diplomatic in character, I would like to ask you about the meeting [words indistinct] Secretary of State Baker.

[Skubiszewski] I must say that this was a very important meeting for us because, as at my earlier contacts with U.S. President George Bush—of these two meetings the discussion with the secretary of state was longer—we had very clear declarations of sympathy for our requests, in particular regarding the economy, and I think we can count on quite significant assistance in this area from the United States, assistance which will be expressed on many levels. For instance, such help could be given by supporting our interests at the IMF. I must add one more thing, in spite of the brevity of my stay in the United States I came across enormous support, that is, despite the brevity of my stay I could see great support for the interests of the new Poland which is being born, for the

new government, great interest among Americans to do more, and I see that this attitude of the U.S. public draws a lot of response from the U.S. President and his government.

[Reporter] Minister, I have a few general questions. You said at the United Nations that Polish foreign policy will be simultaneously characterized by sovereignty and realism. How do you see this in the concrete situation of Poland and Europe at the end of the eighties?

[Skubiszewski] The full answer to this question would require a long argument. Speaking briefly, I think that in order to be a sovereign state, which is also independent in its internal affairs—which is very significant now, when our internal affairs are being shaped in a new and different way—one must consider our situation, not just the geopolitical one, as everyone is well aware of this point, but I would go further and say our geostrategic situation. The position of Poland in this part of Europe is such that it has an influence on the European situation, and I think that Polish policy should be shaped so that out of our geostrategic situation we should play a trump card which will cause it to be a free and democratic Poland, with its European position, which defines its place and which we cannot change, because we cannot move to another house—to make out of this a factor which would support our national interests. [sentence as heard]

[Reporter] Minister, the old, prewar order is losing its control. This arouses the fears of, among others, some U.S. politicians and experts on destabilization on this continent. Where, in your opinion, should one look for the guarantee that this new order will ensure a continuation of peace for Europe?

[Skubiszewski] In my opinion there is no fear of destabilization as far as Poland is concerned. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government has neither begun to conduct any destabilizing policy, nor is it conducting one, nor will it conduct one; and the same goes for my ministry. So, in this regard, everyone should be reassured. However, the changes, the departure from the previous order on our continent, in Europe, consist of removing the division of Europe, and we have already taken certain steps in this direction. We have entered into contact with the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. This is a matter for our two chambers of parliament. Poland has signed an agreement on cooperation with the EEC; this is very important. In this respect, we have a great deal of support from France, as the state currently chairing the EEC, and here I would like to stress France's support is a very important factor in our striving for economic aid; for the continent of Europe to cease to be divided and return to its former unity. This is a good change, something new, which is not, at the same time, destabilization.

[Reporter] And the final question, minister. I'd like to ask you what new areas of interest you see for Polish diplomacy?

[Skubiszewski] I mentioned one of the areas a moment ago: That is, Europe. I would also see various global issues. Of course, we have to concentrate on our national interests and our European interests, but we also have to perceive the great problems which take in the whole world, about which we can make our own contribution, i.e., the fight against hunger, the fight against poverty, the fight against disease. But I'd like to go beyond the material area here, for, in my opinion, it is very important to improve, to contribute to raising the level of public morality in the world; nations' attitudes toward each other; solidarity among nations. Here you have a multitude of problems; there is a great task here for many generations. [end recording]

Skubiszewski: Reunification 'Germans Business'

AU0310150089 Hamburg BILD in German 2 Oct 89 p 4

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by BILD editor Karl-Ludwig Guensche: "Reunification—the Germans' Business"—date and place not given]

[Text] BILD: German reunification is on the agenda again. Does that worry you?

Skubiszewski: The matter is very complicated. First, reunification is the Germans' business; it is a matter of self-determination. However, that is just one aspect. In addition, the four superpowers also hold responsibility in this respect. Without their agreement, the situation of the Germans cannot be changed. Third, German reunification is a European matter.

BILD: Do our European neighbors have to be asked about reunification?

Skubiszewski: Yes, of course. That makes the issue of Germany's reunification much more complicated than it is with other countries that were divided following the war. Therefore, viewing it realistically, German reunification is not a problem of today.

BILD: In the Federal Republic the Oder-Neisse border has been discussed again....

Skubiszewski: In my view, this discussion is unnecessary. It interferes with our relations. The treaty on the normalization of German-Polish relations of 1970 is entirely clear in this respect. In addition, we have the statement made by Foreign Minister Genscher at the UN General Assembly. That was a very important statement for us. Our problem is not the border issue, but the discussion on it.

BILD: Is the Federal Republic doing enough to help Poland?

Skubiszewski: I am convinced that the Federal Republic will do enough for us. However, no definitive decisions have yet been made. But I am optimistic.

BILD: Should an act of solidarity by the Germans complement official aid?

Skubiszewski: The action whereby German families provided packages for Polish families in the early eighties was a very nice thing. It showed that relations between the two societies had almost entirely normalized. However, I cannot tell you now that I am expecting another such action by German families. That is something that can only be decided by the Germans themselves.

More GDR Refugees Arrive at FRG Embassy

LD0210214189 Warsaw PAP in English 1840 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—Under the GDR-FRG agreement, over 800 GDR citizens left Warsaw last Sunday for West Germany.

There is however another small group of GDR refugees staying at the FRG Embassy here who have come to the embassy too late to catch the special refugee train and are waiting, together with a group of newcomers, for another chance to leave the FRG.

Observer say that since both German states have worked out a concrete solution to the issue it will be possible to avoid the problem of refugees in the FRG Embassy.

Warsaw TV: Council Sessions No Longer 'Ominous'

LD0310211989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] The consultative deliberations of the Warsaw Pact Military Council have started in Warsaw. A few years ago that news would have been an important warning to reformers. The decision to intervene in Czechoslovakia in 1968 was made at such a meeting in Warsaw. Now the situation is different, but a shadow of concern remains. That is why sincerity, which was lacking in the statements of Central Committee Spokesman Jan Bisztyga, is so important. Jan Bisztyga denied there was a Romanian proposal to intervene in Poland. Before long, GAZETA WYBORCZA published party documents in which was quite clearly written that news which the Central Committee spokesman had denied. Now Jan Bisztyga has admitted that that publication damages Polish interests. The revelation of the mad Romanian plan has damaged Romania itself. The sensible standpoint of the Central Committee—which is now known thanks to GAZETA WYBORCZA—now means however, that the consultative meeting of the Military Council which started today in Warsaw no longer has any ominous undercurrents.

Mazowiecki Replies to CSSR Dissident Letter

LD0310135489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak dissident Vaclav Havel has informed the REUTER agency that he has received from the Polish embassy in Warsaw [as heard; presumably means Prague] a letter from Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The Premier assures him that he will undertake steps in the matter of freeing the two other Czechoslovak dissidents: Jan Carnogursky and Miroslav Kusy are awaiting trial in Bratislava for the support of the "A Few Sentences" petition. The letter from Tadeusz Mazowiecki is a reply to a letter from Havel with a plea for assistance.

Sejm Debates Continue, Katyn Crimes Discussed

LD0110014389 Warsaw PAP in English 2207 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 30—The second day of the Sejm debate today was devoted only to deputies' interpellations. The government representatives answered questions on the recent rise of prices for fuels, the oath in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the actions by the security service and the payment of foreign disability and old age pensions.

The Sejm listened with utmost attention to Secretary of State in the Foreign Ministry Boleslaw Kulski answering an interpellation on the Katyn crime.

The prolonged debate on interpellations made the Sejm postpone the deputies' question time till its next meeting.

The first interpellation, by Bohdan Kopczynski of the citizens' caucus, was directed to the minister of internal affairs and the minister of national defence and concerned the text of the oath of the security service and civic militia and also the Zomo riot units. The deputy proposed abolishing a passage in the oath pledging "also faithfulness to the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] programme."

Vice-Minister of Internal Affairs Zbigniew Pudysz, answering the interpellation, said that both issues are a question of the interpretation of the law.

The text of the oath by the civic militia and the security service is determined by the law of May 29, 1989. The persons employed after this law became effective take the oath with the new text. The law cannot be retroactive so the officers employed earlier on cannot reiterate their oath. There are no transitional provisions in this law that would oblige the ministry to take the oath from its employees again. All the executive acts and the ministry's own regulations confirm to the new law.

Minister Pudysz upheld his written explanations on the Zomo riot police, granted to the author of the interpellation. Under the law on military service of 1967, this service covers both the armed forces and armed units such as Zomo. These armed units were founded in 1957 and were originally composed of career militia officers.

The minister of internal affairs ordered to liquidate the Zomo units on September 7, 1989, founding prevention units in 22 voivodship to replace them. These units are to protect the life, health and property of citizens, to

keep order at sports and cultural events, protect meetings if requested by organizers, pursue dangerous criminals and fight terrorism.

The 7,300 working places left vacant after the liquidation of the Zomo are to be transferred mostly to the road police, Pudysz added.

In conclusion, Pudysz said that appropriate bodies should be questioned whether the provisions of the law on military service are constitutional, should any doubts arise on the issue.

Answering other questions, Pudysz said that the political and educational service in the ministry of internal affairs is to be transformed into an educational one. The problem of the party membership of the functionaries will be most probably regulated by the law on political parties.

The next interpellation came from Deputy Andrzej Lapicki (OKP) [Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group]. He attached to the interpellation a letter from the Katyn family, the closest relatives of Polish officers murdered in Katyn, who want the government to come out with its official stance on recognising Stalin's and the Soviet Union's responsibility for the Katyn massacre.

Consequently, they demand: The setting up of a special commission to hunt for Katyn executors and opening way to necessary activities by the Polish side on the Soviet territory, establishing full Polish care over the execution area and cemeteries of the victims with Soviet green light to Katyn families wishing to travel to the graves, appointing a special committee for negotiations with the Soviet side on damages liable to those families.

In his reply, Secretary of State in the Foreign Ministry Boleslaw Skulski said that the government approaches the interpellation and letters from the relatives of Katyn victims with special responsibility.

We fully share and understand their feelings. We also recognize the necessity of the fastest possible disclosing of the entire truth about the crime, giving due satisfaction to the victims and their families, and punishing those guilty.

This painful problem was not overlooked by the Polish authorities in the recent years. Its broader, public surfacing began with the famous Polish-Soviet declaration of April 21, 1987. An important stage in the new presentation of the problem by the Polish side was the visit of Wojciech Jaruzelski to Moscow last April.

The government has also undertaken prompt actions. In his statement of March 7, the government spokesman said that Polish and Western sources reveal, and we told that to the Soviet side, that the massacre was done by Stalin's NKVD [Peoples Commissariat of Internal Affairs]. It is also a well-known fact that the Soviet side received scientific documentation including the criticism of the Burdenko communique and the opinion of the Soviet special commission of January, 1944.

We have several times appealed to the Soviet side, last time in July, 1989, to disclose all circumstances of the crime. We have at the same time demanded opening of the Soviet archives and stressed that in a situation where the Polish and international public opinion are convinced they know who committed the crime, further delay of the Soviet side with casting light on the details should not take place.

The Polish Government, Kulski said, shares the opinion that the Katyn massacre question has not only a moral dimension but also social, political, and legal ones. According to the internal law of both states involved and a respective U.N. convention of 1968, there is no limitation to war crimes a case of which we are having here.

The Polish Government has proposed to the Soviet side to establish in an extraordinary way a special intergovernmental commission supervised by both states' justice ministers whose task would be to urgently and completely explain the Katyn crime, identify and punish those guilty, and solve the question of damages.

Judging from the bilateral talks, such a commission may soon be appointed.

Nothing can reverse the Katyn tragedy, the speaker said. Therefore, compensation is a debt that has to be paid. Without waiting for further decisions, the Polish Government has undertaken steps which—though to a little extent—meet halfway the basic humanitarian expectations. Relatives of those who died for their fatherland are already travelling to places where their dears were executed. Urns with ashes of the victims were buried on Polish soil at a symbolic ceremony. A cross was erected in Katyn. Religious ceremonies were and are being held there.

The government will not spare efforts to have the truth fully revealed according to the expectations of all Poles, compensation ensured to the Katyn victims and their relatives, and trials of those guilty.

We all here in this room and in the country, feel with equal pain the weight of the tragedy of those years. It is not easy to get away from these feelings especially when every month brings new facts, such as, to say the least, the recent information that Polish soldiers were shot dead at the village of Kalety.

I think, however, that when referring this past to the present situation, we should on the one hand do all to make full historical truth known and satisfaction given to the victims and their relatives, and on the other hand—this is my deep conviction—we should keep remembering that the greatest and delayed triumph of the initiators and perpetrators of those crimes would be their long and dark shadow over the shape of present and future relations with our eastern neighbour and the Soviet peoples, especially today, when the Soviet leadership for the first time since decades voluntarily opened the door to an honest look back at the past, the deputy said.

Vice-Minister of the Interior Zbigniew Pudysz answered also an interpellation by Deputy Zbigniew Janas on the current tasks of the security service.

The transformations under way in Poland influence the scope of the activity of the security service, said he.

Protection of the constitutional order of the state, of civic rights and freedoms and of the national economy is the key task of the security service in the current situation. This means a significant and substantial change in the areas of interest for this service. Another task of this service is combating spying, terrorism and economic offences.

Asked about the role of the security service in working plants, Pudysz denied the existence of such posts. He also deneid that the security service collects evidence against the opposition and Solidarity, saying that one does not take any actions of this kind. He added that the problem of political prisoners does not exist in Poland as of September 1987 and that no proceedings have been instituted on such charges.

ZSL Leader Calls for 'One Strong Party'

LD0410092389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] [Announcer] The plenum of the Voivodship Committee of the United Peasant Party [ZSL], inaugurating preparations for the 11th ZSL Congress, has taken place in Tarnow.

[Correspondent] During various meetings in Poland, there has been talk of the need for unity of the peasant movement. Meanwhile, the facts confirm something else. They confirm that a breakup of the ZSL is taking place. What does the new chairman of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL say about this?

[Dominik Ludwiczak] For the countryside to have its rights, for it to gain its rights, the peasant movement must be one [word indistinct]. One strong party must be formed. It is a fact that there are attempts to break up the peasant movement. It is...I receive this with great anxiety. Hence, my visit to the cradle of the peasant movement. I paid my respects before the remains of the great leader of the peasant movement, Witos.

I would not like it to end in such a breakup, because the countryside would then suffer, farming would suffer, the peasant in particular would suffer. I have here a great request to my brother peasants: don't let people order you about. Amongst these 'restorers' are many people who are looking for a career, a career which once again they want to achieve at the expense of the peasants or the countryside. And here, I issue great warning, and I am counting on the great wisdom of our members, of the peasants, that they will always be able to separate the wheat from the chaff.

[Correspondent] Is it supposed to be the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]?

[Ludwiczak] Yes. That's what the majority of our members said in a questionnaire which we sent out to our members. It's to be the PSL. That's the will of our members.

[Correspondent] When is this new party to be formed?

[Ludwiczak] At the forthcoming congress of the peasant movement.

Democratic Party Presidium Session Meets

LD0410054289 Warsaw PAP in English 2149 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 3—The Presidium of the Democratic Party CC [Central Committee] discussed problems connected with the functioning of the private sector of economy at its session here today.

Discussed was the formation of new organizational structures basing on the legal regulations adopted by the Sejm of the 9th term of office.

The Presidium noted with concern persisting inequality between various sectors of economy.

Another item on the agenda were issues pertaining to the establishment of the national council of courts.

Discussed was also the role and place of the Supreme Administration court in the system of jurisdiction organs.

The CC Presidium approved also of the organizational structure of the Central Committee adjusting it to the current political and organizational tasks.

Walesa Interview to IL GIORNO Reported

AU2609154289 Rome ANSA in English 1134 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] (ANSA) Milan, Sep 26—The leader of Poland's Solidarnosc Free Trade Union Movement with members now in government, Lech Walesa, said he was disappointed with the failure of Italian enterprise to help his country's economic reconstruction and pinned the stability of the new Warsaw Government, headed by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, on the success of this reform.

In an interview with IL GIORNO of Milan for the Tuesday editions, Walesa listed as priority goals formulated by Mazowiecki, close to Solidarnosc and its leader, political party pluralism, the privatization of the nation's economy and the removal of politics from the police and the Armed Forces.

He said the accomplishment of these ambitious objectives will not be easy. On the political level, true pluralism will not be established for a long time because of disputes and misunderstandings among the myriad parties arising at this time, he said.

On the tough economic front, Walesa declared: "If we do not cement this house of cards, a wave of strike action would be enough to sweep it away."

For this reason, joint enterprises between national companies and those in Western Europe and the United States must be created "so as to gain for the Polish society the money needed for buying the goods produced by these joint enterprises."

Walesa said in this connection that contracts have already been drawn up with West German and Norwegian companies but not yet with Italian enterprises. "The Italians were supposed to set up banks but they have not done this they have not been bothered enough to form joint ventures. What are they waiting for?" he asked.

He noted that he expected more from Italy for a number of reasons, including the presence of a Polish-born pope in the Vatican.

The labor leader and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, now committed to action at the national level, said he had hopes that the Polish economy could be put on its feet within two years and that there could also be an overhaul of the trade unions.

He said that when these problems are solved, he will retire.

Bielsko Citizens' Committee Created

LD0410044489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] At the headquarters of the regional organizing committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity of the Podbeskidzie Region, the Bielsko Citizens' Committee has been created. It intends to come forward with socioeconomic initiatives and also to take part in the preparations for local elections.

'Pluralism' To Figure in Broadcasting

PM0210145689 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 9 Sep 89 pp 1, 8

[Piotr Sarzynski commentary: "The Partitioning of Television"]

[Text] The campaign to democratize and socialize anything and everything is now very much in vogue, and it looks as if television is the latest focus of much eager attention and debate.

Perhaps this is because it was only a few months ago that representatives of the government coalition side insisted that, come what may, they would never relinquish their hold on the Army, the citizens' militia, or television. It looks as if they may be able to keep their promise in the first two cases. What about the third?

Government or Sejm

Socialization of the Radio Committee is in fact regarded as a half-way measure leading to the ultimate targets: pluralism in television and concrete implementation of the idea that television should be a medium for presenting the views and opinions of all social groups. Thus it seems appropriate to begin by asking the question: Is Polish television today an institution for all Poles? The answers can be widely divergent, not to say radically different. For example, whereas Dariusz Fikus remains convinced that the institution situated in Woronicza Street is "held in the firm grip of Stalinism," his former colleague on POLITYKA's editorial staff, Jerzy Urban, has declared publicly that "in fact, Polish Television programs are already completely pluralistic" (PAP 31 Aug).

Since the days of the roundtable debate a lot has changed in television studios and their programs. Solidarity has its own slots; the Open Studio program broadcasts violent, live, uncensored disputes involving everyone and anyone present in the studio; and certain feature programs resemble nothing as much as the underground press. All the same, it is still more like a string of individual concessions granted to "the other side" than serious, structural, and planned reconstruction.

In addition to individual skirmishes (for example, over the right to present its own programs), the Solidarity side has embarked on a campaign designed to win the whole war. To this end, it reckoned, the best way to guarantee the implementation of real socialization, pluralism, democracy, and the like in radio and television would be to make these institutions directly subordinate to parliament instead of the government. This was the blueprint it submitted at the roundtable debate and has consistently promoted over the months.

In the meantime, however, we had an unexpected cabinet change and the office of premier was entrusted to a politician of the erstwhile opposition circles. Consequently, and as it were automatically, the Radio Committee found itself under the command of those who preferred to see its rightful place under the Sejm. The situation became paradoxical. For example, certain Solidarity activists suddenly put forward the theory that it was actually quite a clever idea to make television answerable to the premier. And the other way around: Overnight, representatives of the other side stopped insisting that the Radio Committee remain within the state administration structure. It appears, however, that despite all the unexpected turnabouts, the idea of television's staying within the Sejm's province still finds more supporters than opponents on the Solidarity side, and the statement given by Bronislaw Geremek, head of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club [OKP], to GAZETA WYBORCZA (30 August) only reinforces this position. In his statement Geremek said: "The OKP has postulated the placing of radio and television under parliamentary control, and it will not back out of its stand on this issue."

A Stack of Recipes for the Cure

It is to be expected that the quarrel over the role and place of the Radio Committee in the power structure will go on for a long time yet, and we will most likely have to wait a long time for a new parliamentary act regulating these matters. At the moment a major wrestling match is taking place for control over television. Considering television's significance in the processes of circulation of information and fashioning of public attitudes, the stakes are very high indeed. The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] realizes that, in addition to the Army and the citizens' militia, the "glass window" constitutes another strategic lever enabling those who gain control over it to influence the course of events in the country.

The present government headed by T. Mazowiecki only seemingly commands the comfortable position of the decisionmaker. In fact it rather finds itself between the devil and the deep blue sea. On the one hand, wishing to keep the fragile thread of agreement intact, it must somehow take notice of the conditions set by the party.

On the other hand, however, a considerable proportion of the electorate awaits radical changes in Polish television and it is to be expected that in the eyes of the general public these changes will become a touchstone of the new government's strength and credibility. This, presumably, was Bronislaw Geremek's contention when he said: "This question is not open to negotiation. The present PZPR monopoly in this sphere must be broken at all costs. Prompt personnel decisions concerning the Radio Committee will be the most obvious, immediate manifestations of change visible to the general public."

It must, moreover, be added that the "glass window" is also watched with considerable hope by the coalition men and by all social forces which now expect that the new political situation will allow them to "plug into" this major mouthpiece for the dissemination of information and propaganda.

Such, then, is the picture of the complex situation which is spawning a great variety of options and blueprints for a "rapid cure" for the Radio Committee. Let us look at each of these in turn.

Option 1: The Great Divide

This solution depends on a factual division of both radio and television into two sections: one controlled by the government and the other by the previous dominant political force, that is, in practice, by the PZPR. This presupposes the existence of two parallel television channels—one "ours" and one "yours"—and two sets of two radio programs, again divided into "ours and "yours." It is worth recalling that this blueprint was proposed by the Solidarity side in the roundtable debate and that it was also one of the items of the list of disparities published in the "Report on the Work of the Working Party for the Mass Media." The curious thing is that today the situation seems to have become reversed and the concept of dividing the media appears to have more supporters among the past rather than present authorities.

The solution has all the features of a classic judgment of Solomon. Its advantage is that it gives both sides a guarantee of a free hand in its own domain. Those who advocate this option are guided by the principle that a bird in hand is worth two in the bush. We are here, you are there, no one pokes his nose into the other side's business, no one reads the other side's scripts or crosses passages out of them. Both sides implement their own program and both compete, on their own account, for their audience's hearts and minds while radio listeners and television viewers can choose for themselves. A peculiar model of dualistic pluralism.

Although this proposal may even appear quite sensible at first glance, it is in fact encumbered by a number of fundamental drawbacks. True, if it were adopted, the struggle for position in the news programs would no longer be necessary, and neither would the tug of war over other programs, the quarrels about allocation of time quotas in overall block programs, or the contest for securing jobs for "our" people. But all these conflicts would be just transferred elsewhere. For how would agreement be reached on the distribution of resources and access to studios, cameras, cutting rooms, technical backup facilities, transport, or allocation of hard currency allowances for the import of Western films and a thousand-and-one other things which are as indispensable for the proper execution of one's work in television as they are perennially inaccessible? In other words, how would we share the slim resources available? And in which direction should the "skimpy blanket" be pulled? I can already imagine the infighting—and it would be a hopeless task to look for fair arbitrage.

The next set of questions to be asked concerns the regional branches of radio and television centers. Would these also be "cut in half"? What about coverage of Sejm and Senate sessions? Who should be made responsible for those? What about the existing regular programs? Who will want to be burdened with school programs? And so on, and so forth.

Moreover, I believe—in defiance of the optimistic view—that such a division will not only fail to soothe the internal and external conflicts but actually make them much worse. Just imagine how the newly autonomous stations would attacks each other! Unfortunately, the attacks would not take place in a face-to-face confrontation in one studio: They would be indirect, conducted by correspondence, as it were, from two studios. The next thing would be to start digging trenches. But where? Between blocks D and F? Or perhaps between Studio 3 and Studio 4?

And the programs? I can see them in my mind's eye already. Channel 1: an avalanche of V-signs; live transmissions from St. Bridget's; gala commemorations in honor of Pilsudski and Dmowski, alternately; and reading the roll of honor for the Katyn victims only.

Channel 2: news programs more indigestible than ever; coverage of plenary sessions of the opposition party; and a return of Prof. Kowalski's television talks. There is no doubt whatsoever that the politicization and publicization of television would then reach a much higher level than at present, thereby making the medium completely unwatchable.

Option 2: Fragmentation

This has its origins in the model of "pluralistic" radio and television that has been implemented until now: allocating own slots in radio and TV programs to the new (or the old, but still formidable) political forces. It must be admitted that in the initial post-roundtable period this option was very much to Solidarity's liking, as it gave it the sense of autonomy and protection against being manipulated. It guaranteed freedom in their own allocated slots, however tight they may have been.

However, as we moved ahead in the democratization of our public life, more and more social or political forces began demanding access to their own slots, too. If Solidarity and the Catholic Church could have them, why not others? The National Trade Union Accord, the other religious creeds, armchair political parties, writers' and artists' unions, associations, movements. And so on, even down to the Pigeon Fanciers Association—for why should they not be entitled to it on a par with all the others?

No one would be mollified by the promise that "their case would be taken into consideration in the overall profile of the program." Everyone wants to have their own allocated time face-to-face with the viewers, even if it only 15, or even 5 minutes; it could even be in the middle of the night as long as they could have it all to themselves. What for? Mainly so that they could stage a "talking heads" display, to try to persuade someone about something, to blow their own trumpet. It does not matter if it is boring. It is the entertainment program experts who should provide the fun. Our heroes would be there to put forward their cases. A panoptic display of orators.

In this way, almost imperceptibly, the whole concept of "chopping it up fine" was born: fragmenting programs into a multitude of slots, cutting them up into minute-long portions of airtime in order to make everyone happy. The fact that it has not yet been implemented in its full glory—to the presumed regret of a vast majority of viewers—is to be attributed to the determined opposition from those diehards who still understand the purpose and function of the "glass window."

But the idea of "chopping it up fine" has found its way also into the present dispute over the immediate future of television. Its supporters say: Let us leave well alone (that is, more or less as we have done all along) all film and television, entertainment, children's, nature, popular science, and other such programs. We concede that political struggle can be conducted even there, but only as a marginal issue. Instead, let us submit news, political, and current affairs programs to political fragmentation. Let every group that commands any kind of influence in society enjoy the right to keep in touch with the public through the medium of radio and television broadcasting. Thus, for example, we should have news programs addressed "to you" and "to us," and separate agricultural affairs programs for members of the United Peasant Party [ZSL], the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], and the Agricultural Circles Association.

Thus, even though in this option no one proposes wholesale divisions, the overall philosophy, principles, and—consequently—results would be allied to those of the "great divide" concept. Of course, the fragmentation option would be much easier to put into practice than the other, though it is to be expected that even the former solution would not really calm down the public mood, assuage the conflicts, or give full justice to the interests of all involved parties. To say nothing about the long line that could be expected to form outside the Radio Committee chairman's door, composed of those eager to have their own slot on television. If at least they could promise us attractive girls in it...

Option 3: The Man of the Center

In their turn, adversaries of the wholesale division of programs or the fragmenting of airtime would prefer to seek the solution in finding a universal "man of destiny" to fill the office of chairman of Polish Radio and Television. Some see him as primarily an outstanding manager and television professional who would understand the medium and have the talent to produce "good television." Others deem it most important to find a man who would be politically acceptable to all interested parties. As Mariusz Walter aptly put it: "Today we need a Radio Committee chairman who would not so much guarantee the physical presence of political forces, personalities, and programs on Polish television, as ensure that all the important views and opinions are presented on it."

A new boss that would be acceptable to all should be given far-reaching autonomy in the sphere of television programming and extensive organizational powers, at least until a new act on television is passed by the Sejm.

Thus we would have pluralism achieved not through division but through an overall profile change of the entire program line, especially as regards news and social and political features.

However, there are still a number of weak points in this solution. One of them was identified by Jerzy Urban, who said: "A chairman is primarily someone who reigns rather than governs and his appointment certainly does not solve the whole problem. In real terms it is the directors of individual programs who decide on their concrete shape and profile." To this we could add that throughout the years the profile, shape, and content of at least certain select programs were decided largely, if not totally, outside the Radio Committee. And until this "manual control" is completely eradicated, no campaign

by even the most inspired men of destiny or the most brilliant and talented television wizard will stand a chance of succeeding.

The second question, which may well be the more difficult, is where to find such a man of the Center, acceptable to all sides? Who would agree to assume the difficult challenge of keeping his balance in the Center while all the forces around him are pulling in different directions?

Option 4: Coalition Transfer

Its adherents are also opposed to the fragmentation of television, but the solution they propose does not rest on appointing a strong, competent, and universally respected Radio Committee chairman. Instead, they see it in collective control of the Radio Committee. This could be done by appointing a programming council based on new principles or a television main board which would rank above the chairman and whose composition could duplicate the configuration of political forces in Parliament or the government. It could also be achieved by sharing out the office of deputy chairman among representatives of relevant political forces: the PZPR, the ZSL, perhaps also the Social Democratic Party [SD], with the chairman, hailing from the Citizens' Parliamentary Club [OKP], appointed by the premier.

Such small-scale managerial pluralism in television would probably still not prevent television programs from being fragmented along political lines, or stop a variety of forces from vying for positions and influence. The difference would be that the struggle would be moved from radio or television studios to the offices of the top bosses, which would invite more civilized ways of resolving the conflicts.

There is no shortage of yet other proposals. For example, the radicals of the new order are advocating taking programs over virtually by force without going into negotiations with the party—which, after all, is in the opposition now—and giving about the same amount of air time on radio and television to the party as was made available to Solidarity until now.

A different concept, whereby all news and current affairs programs would be under the control of the new government while radio and television managers would be responsible for all the rest, is also gaining in popularity. The advocates of this solution argue as follows: If the government wants to achieve its planned objectives and implement reforms, it faces a truly Herculean labor of educating and informing the whole population, and in particular the administrative apparatus. Television is the major public medium for the dissemination of information and it exerts the strongest influence on people's views and opinions. Thus it is irreplaceable in its educational function. In this situation the government cannot afford to agree to a reign of ideological chaos and unrestrained politicking on the air, but should instead—at least during the transition period—make the maximum use of this "mouthpiece" for the purposes of reform.

In fact this is really a precise continuation of the practice applied in television since its inception, the only difference being that the ideology would change: "Listen, folks, we are very sorry, but for the time being we do not intend to socialize anything in Woronicza Street; we are taking everything over instead, because if we are to implement all our plans we need propaganda really badly." The only question that arises is whether, when the most difficult period is over—and when will that be?—it would be very easy to give up the monopoly. Experience suggests that it would not.

I think that our readers will be interested in answers to two questions: Which of the options is the most likely to succeed and who, in the end, will become the Chairman of the Radio Committee? At the time of writing this article (2 September) nothing was yet certain. Each option has its advantages and its drawbacks, each has its adherents and its adversaries. I my opinion the most dangerous option is that which advocates the "partitioning of television." Unfortunately, everything suggests that the scales are tipping precisely in that direction, though it is also highly probable that in the end some kind of eclectic solution will be adopted (for instance, division into two stations plus a Programming Council based on a broadly conceived coalition, to share out the misery, plus a professional manager at the head of this entire business).

In all probability it is still not certain who will be appointed chairman of the Radio Committee (perhaps only the premier knows the answer). Anyway, it probably also depends on which option is destined to win. Whispers to be heard in the corridors of power suggest many names. The PZPR is allegededly proposing Aleksander Kwasniewski to the office. Among the people from the "Center group," one hears the names Mariusz Walter, Maciej Ilowiecki, and even the expatriate Maciej Wierzynski. Other names that have been mentioned are Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Maciej Szumowski, Jacek Snopkiewicz, Jerzy Zdrada (Sejm deputy from Krakow), Krzysztof Kozlowski, and Michal Jagiello. For the time being, however, this is all conjecture.

The Hole-Ridden Hulk

We have many skippers who propose many courses and many candidates for the job of helmsman on board the MS "Radio Committee." Amid all the excitement of the dispute over the destination and the direction of the voyage, one question has not been asked at all: Is this boat seaworthy at all? And there can be only one answer: We have on our hands a hole-ridden hulk, with water up to the gunwales—in fact, it is actually sinking. A very long treatise could be written about the critical condition of the technology and equipment, the faulty structure

and organization of work, and the pathetically low budget. These are the holes in the hulk, and they are difficult to patch up.

The condition of the journalistic staff is an altogether different question. The tumult that has surrounded radio and television has generated a plethora of gossip and conjecture. A question that is being asked more often than others is: "Are the 'new guys' going to vet the existing personnel?" Well, that is the point—are they or are they not?

All my interlocutors, whether from the former political establishment or the new coalition, were emphatic in their warnings against it. First, it would be a political mistake to stage a repetition of the infamous practice of 1982. Second, it would constitute a strategic error. After all, it is not as if we had whole crowds of jobless television professionals waiting outside the door, perfectly capable of replacing those who might be leaving.

All the same, some degree of turnover is certain to be necessary. To begin with, strictly among the top Radio Committee managerial personnel and among those who over the years have become, as it were, living symbols of the traditional political order—their frequently very high professional competence notwithstanding. In the following period a distinct "streamlining" of the staffing figures should take place. Experts estimate that some 70 percent of the present staff of journalists would be sufficient to ensure efficient operation of the Radio Committee. But, let me stress, such a personnel review should be based solely on the criterion of professional merit.

Yet another question needs to be asked: Will it be possible to "make new television" with the people already working there? This concerns not so much their professional proficiency as their political attitudes. Well, in the case of many programs this is really largely irrelevant.

The average viewer will presumably want to know the name of the new chairman and whether the same old presenters are going to assure us of the virtues of the new government in the evening news program. But above all he will simply want to know whether television is going to be more interesting, sensible, and modern. And all politicians who fight for such undoubtedly important and fundamental values as justice, pluralism, or credibility on the "glass screen" would do well to remember this at all times.

Gdansk Paper Announces New Independent Status

PM0410100089 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 4 Sep 89 p 1

[Editorial message: "To Our Readers"; accompanied by photograph of masthead and part of first page of DZIENNIK BALTYCKI 1 September 1948, with the subtitle "Independent Coastal Daily"]

[Text] Everything around us is changing at dizzying speed, so our paper should not be expected to continue in its traditional mold either. The DZIENNIK BALTYCKI you have in your hands today is a new version of your familiar daily paper. Under our masthead you will find the words "Independent Coastal Paper."

Our older readers will recall that this is not an altogether novel idea. We regard it as a return to our traditions. These may not be too long as yet, but they are nonetheless highly valued both by journalists and by our readers—who have recently been reminding us of them in their letters. Well, DZIENNIK BALTYCKI was published as the Independent Coastal Paper from 20 Oct 1946 to 11 December 1948. After that date there was no longer any room for independence in the political twilight of Stalinism which gradually engulfed all Poland. Today we live in altogether different times. Consequently, we want to publish a different paper and to open up a wider forum for contact with our readers.

The decision to change DZIENNIK BALTYCKI's status to that of an independent paper was not made in haste. Back in January this year we suggested to our publishers that it was necessary to reappraise the needs of Gdansk's newspaper market. In mid-July we submitted an actual project of the new venture in the belief that it constituted an important new initiative in the process of political reform of the local mass media system. Finally the decision matured and came to fruition. We realize that the independent newspaper formula places new obligations and considerable responsibilities on us.

We will not put our vision of being an independent newspaper into practice all at once. We have adopted an evolutionary formula—which is not to say we will be slow. We intend to proceed along our newly chosen course with firm and bold steps, and we will carry out the reorganization as we go on. From our readers we expect both encouragement and critical appraisal. We want you to think, "This is our paper," as you reach for DZIENNIK BALTYCKI.

From today our independent paper will not be answerable to any party, social movement, or social group. We have no political taskmaster. The supreme objective which will determine the course of our work is the public good, and we will aim to fulfill our duty as journalists in accordance with the law embodied in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. We will employ common sense in the post of permanent—and very busy at that—adviser to the board of editors.

Our motto combines support for progress, broadly interpreted, with open and pluralistic presentation of opinions on all public matters and concerns. We will respect the ideology of a whole variety of social forces, because our objective is to serve national conciliation and better understanding among all Poles, no matter what varying beliefs they may profess.

Thus we will give you a paper designed for people of differing views. We declare our willingness to cooperate

with all political and social forces. We are opening our columns wide. However, this does not mean that we will allow ourselves to be carried along passively as events unfold around us. Consequently, we will not support any extreme positions, regardless of the side on which they may be found—in fact, we will oppose and counter them.

In these difficult times we hope to be friends and confidants to our readers. You will find on our pages not only the essential ingredients of what constitutes a daily newspaper but also a tranquil, calming atmosphere which can stabilize emotions and soothe frayed nerves.

We want to achieve all these aims by means other than thrusting opinions upon our readers. Consequently, DZIENNIK BALTYCKI will publish a whole range of comprehensive, varied, and—most importantly—objective information. Our only regret is that we will not be able to fit everything worth including into such a "slimline" paper—but everything that is really important should be there.

Our policy on political journalism will be primarily to present individual authors' political views and commentaries under those authors' own banners. This will mean that our chief editor and editorial board need not necessarily agree with the views presented in our columns. We also plan to publish our own political commentaries reflecting the editorial staff's views, but these will always be signed by the editorial staff—just as this item is. We also recognize the need for polemic and debate in DZIENNIK BALTYCKI columns.

DZIENNIK BALTYCKI enjoys reasonably high credibility among its readers. We want to raise this credibility even higher. Today this depends on us, the journalists, even more than it did in the quite recent past. We are very happy to have these new opportunities opening up before us thanks to the fact that DZIENNIK BALTYCKI has reclaimed its independent status. But our happiness will not be complete until we have seen that our readers are satisfied with us, too.

Prague CPCZ Delegation Visits, Holds Talks

Confers With Belgrade LCY

LD0110194989 Prague CTK in English 1734 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade Oct 1 (CTK Correspondent)—A delegation of the Prague city committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [PCZ] led by its chief secretary and party Presidium member Miroslav Stepan arrived for a friendly working visit here today.

Immediately after the arrival, Miroslav Stepan started talks with chairman of the Belgrade city committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Rados Smiljkovic. This meeting represents modernisation of contacts between the two city party organisations. The two representatives openly exchanged opinions on the situation and development in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia before the congresses of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in the preparation of which the two city party organisations play an important and irreplaceable role.

The talks were also dedicated to concretisation of mutual contacts between the two city party organisations in tune with the program for cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Czechoslovak Communist Party. In this connection particularly new stimuli for the intensification of economic cooperation between the two cities' enterprises were discussed.

Tomorrow, Miroslav Stepan is to be received by Presidium secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Stefan Korosec.

Ends Visit

LD0210212689 Prague CTK in English 2012 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade Oct 2 (CTK Correspondent)—The visiting delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Prague city committee led by its leading secretary and party Presidium member Miroslav Stepan was received here today by League of Communists of Yugoslavia Presidium Secretary Stefan Korosec.

They exchanged views on the implementation of reforms in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia and on the role of their parties in the application of the reforms, and stated that new external conditions as well as the internal need of a socialist society give each country new tasks to tackle.

Taking into consideration all peculiarities and different conditions of the two countries it becomes evident that the main tasks of the communists are identical, the officials stated and pointed to the example set by restructuring in the Soviet Union.

Stepan also met with chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Yugoslav parliament Alexandr Simovic with whom he spoke about the role of parliaments in strengthening inter-state relations and supporting a positive development in Europe and throughout the world.

At the end of the stay of the delegation in Belgrade, Stepan appreciated in his interview for CTK and RUDE PRAVO correspondents the frank atmosphere in the exchange of views and confirmed the two countries' interest and need to promote open contacts and exchange experience between the two capitals' party organizations in all spheres.

Later in the day the delegation ended its visit to Belgrade and left for Sofia.

Korosec Accused of Misinforming CSSR Group

LD0310222489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1630 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 3 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the League of Communists of the city of Belgrade, the most numerous party organization in the country, today accused Stefan Korosec, a member of the Yugoslav party leadership from Slovenia, of "misinforming a delegation of the Czechoslovak Party on the situation regarding the adoption of the amendments to the constitution of Slovenia."

The Belgrade party leadership decided to inform in writing the Presidency of the Central Committee (CC) of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), of which Korosec is the secretary, about its stands.

The Belgrade party leadership claims that Korosec, although he received a delegation of the Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party as the secretary of the LCY CC Presidency, did not mention the stand of the LCY CC on the amendments to the Slovenian Constitution.

The LCY CC has called on the Slovenian Assembly to postpone the adoption of the disputed amendments, assessing that the aim of the amendments was to regulate the position of Slovenia in the federation and the relations within the federation "one-sidedly by the Republican Constitution." The LCY CC based its stands on the evaluations of the Yugoslav State Presidency and the Federal Assembly that some amendments to the Slovenian Constitution were in opposition to the Federal Constitution.

The stands of the LCY CC were passed with a majority vote, but all CC members from Slovenia voted against them, pointing out that they believe that the Slovenian amendments are not in opposition to the Yugoslav Constitution, do not threaten the integrity of the country and are not against the vital interests of any republic or province.

The debate at today's session of the Belgrade party leadership pointed out that Korosec obviously cannot

come to terms with the stand of the LCY CC, which is "another proof that we are facing a rift within the LCY."

Markovic Receives Volkswagen Chief for Talks

LD2809225389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1802 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, today received in Belgrade the chairman of the Volkswagen management, Dr Karl Horst Han.

In their talks interest was expressed on both sides in promoting and expanding the cooperation between Yugoslav firms and Volkswagen, particularly by increasing production in Yugoslav enterprises and their broader involvement on the world market.

Drnovsek, Venezuelan, Brazilian Leaders Meet

LD2709112589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1947 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] United Nations, Sept 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Presidency President Janez Drnovsek held separate meetings today with Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez and Brazilian President Jose Sarney.

During a working breakfast with the president of Venezuela, the country which for the first time attended the recent ninth non- aligned summit in Belgrade as a full member of the movement, Perez informed the Yugoslav president on the latest developments in Latin America.

Both sides expressed concern over the possibility of a sharpening of the situation around Panama, but also hopes that a compromise solution was possible.

The two sides also discussed the problems of the Latin American debtor-countries and assessed favourably the stand point reached at the Belgrade summit and the conclusion that new constructive dialogue should be launched with the creditor countries. Accord was reached for Yugoslavia and Venezuela to cooperate closely in this field.

Drnovsek's meeting later in the morning with Brazilian President Jose Sarney centered on over-indebtedness. The Brazilian president presented his country's experience, which represents the best possible confirmation that the problem of foreign debts cannot be tackled as exclusively financial in nature and that debtor-creditor cooperation was essential.

NIN Interviews Drnovsek on EEC Membership

LD2109203289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—From Europe we drew inspiration for our development, and new development impulses come from there too. Looking from that point of view, we cannot answer 'yes' or 'no' to cooperation with Europe. The question is: What forms should cooperation assume and on what areas should it concentrate so that is the most favorable for our development? Exclusion from the European economic processes of integration would mean leaving the train of progress, which is not in the interest of our country as a whole, individual regions, or enterprises. Although we in Yugoslavia are struggling with major economic and political difficulties, which are in a way an obstacle for a speedier and more efficient inclusion in "the Europe'92", we must be aware that we shall resolve these problems more easily with help from our more developed neighbors, than if we were resolving them by ourselves. Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, said this in an interview to NIN, which this weekly magazine publishes in a special supplement of the latest issue entitled "Odyssey'92".

Answering a question, what prevents Yugoslavia, as a nonaligned country, becoming an EEC member, Drnovsek underscored that, above all, our current inflation and insufficient economic development are preventing it. We are aware of this, the president of the SFRY Presidency added, and therefore we invest all efforts which would enable our society and economy to achieve efficient cooperation with Europe in 1992.

NIN asked what the position of Yugoslavia is in the Europe of "new detente", when borders are being removed, not just within the EC, but where EEC-CEMA relations are significantly changed. Drnovsek replied that there is a danger of Yugoslavia not reacting on time to new trends, and thus being left on the sidelines of a European "common home". Hungary, Poland, even the USSR, today want closer ties with some European organizations.

President Drnovsek recalled what the SFRY Presidency has been doing so that Yugoslavia meets 1992 as prepared as possible. He went on to note that we were received in the Council of Europe as a guest in June, and we intend to become an associate member in a foreseeable future. At the same time, we are working on creating conditions for joining many conventions, in particular the treaty on human rights. This would enable us to create conditions for full membership to the Council of Europe. In connection with economic integrations, our goal is to join the EFTA, primarily on the basis of full reciprocity as a full member-country. Regarding the European Community, we agreed on the necessity of a gradual, pragmatic, and functional approach to the community, Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, stressed in the NIN interview.

Two Slovene Journalists Jailed in Tetovo

AU0310152689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] The communal misdemeanors judge in Tetovo has handed down prison sentences of 60 and 50 days to MLADINA journalist Marjan Horvat and Radio Ljubljana reporters Tanja Barisin and Adrijano Krsic. On 14 March during an official visit to the Tetovo communal youth organization, they distributed badges showing a

two-headed eagle, the symbol of Albania, with the words: We give up our lives but we do not give up Kosovo.

Security Official Babovic Attacked in Istok

LD0310210989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1637 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Pristina, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—The Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Kosovo today issued a statement saying that during an official conversation in the Istok branch of the Internal Affairs Secretariat, Naser Satri, who comes from Istok and is temporarily working in Sweden, tried to kill Tomislav Babovic, an official with the state security service. Babovic sustained serious injuries and was transferred to the Military Medical Clinic in Belgrade. The doctors are fighting to save his life. After this heinous crime Satri managed to escape. The security organs are searching for him, the statement says in conclusion.

Loncar Stresses Need for Democratization

PM2609114689 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 24-25 Sep 89 p 12

[Interview with Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar by Dino Frescobaldi in Belgrade; date not given]

[Text] Belgrade—[introductory passage omitted] [Frescobaldi] "Adriatic initiative" is a fine expression, but what specifically lays behind it? Is it perhaps a mere declaration of intent?

[Loncar] For us it represents a fundamental option. No, it is not only a declaration of intent: Rather, the memorandum signed in Umago points the way to an expansion of our relations in the various fields. Specifically, Italy and Yugoslavia have established a concrete form of cooperation and connection that could provide the solution to the dilemma facing the EEC between strengthening and enlarging. For Italy, it is a practical demonstration that the Europe of 1992 does not entail the closing down of the EEC's relations with its neighbors, inasmuch as that initiative is by definition open to participation by other Mediterranean countries, including some non-European ones. For Yugoslavia it is an initial response to the need for it to move closer to European integration. In short, we have laid the foundations for a new relationship that transcends the old blocs and that can, to start with, operate in the environmental, transport, infrastructures, and technological fields. The initiative thus foreshadows the new course of reations in a Europe in which the blocs are being eliminated and with a view to the creation of the common European home.

[Frescobaldi] The Italian Government has clearly stated that the Adriatic initiative is not confined to Yugoslavia but must be capable of being extended to Albania as well. How is this process viewed in Belgrade?

[Loncar] For some time now Albania has been starting an opening-up process. It is impossible to say when and how it will end and whether all the objective and subjective conditions for it will materialize. Be that as it may, there are some good signs. Albania's active participation in the Balkan conference is one of them. It seems clear to me that the Albanians too, after years of voluntary isolation, now aspire to involvement in world affairs. Perhaps in their conduct there are still discrepancies between words and deeds, but I believe that they agree with us at least on the need to base our relations on mutual interest and stability, so eventually, despite everything, we should reach some kind of understanding.

[Frescobaldi] For Italy ties with Yugoslavia are only the first step in a more ambitious plan that should be implemented very soon. Some people are talking in terms of an Italian Ostpolitik. This is the four-way conference involving Italy, Yugoslavia, Austria, and Hungary. An initial meeting of the four governments should take place in Belgrade in early November. How do you view the plan?

[Loncar] We fully support the initiative because it matches our own conception of European relations. For some time Yugoslavia has been speaking out in favor of eliminating all the differences between countries stemming from historical vicissitudes and from the characteristics of their respective regimes. This belongs to this past. We must now exploit on the one hand the material and natural opportunities for cooperation that were long sacrificed and on the other hand the new political opportunities offered by the international situation. The four-way conference will definitely have a political and psychological impact, a driving effect. It will be a driving force at the regional level.

[Frescobaldi] Could it thus influence the very course of perestroyka in some East European countries?

[Loncar] Certainly. This is the very point of the initiative, bearing in mind the importance that the countries concerned have always had in European affairs. Current events in Central Europe and the USSR are undoubtedly prompting much attention, many hopes, and much anxiety. It is pointless to deny that we are witnessing a crucial transition period. The elimination of authoritarian government systems and dirigiste economic systems with a view to achieving a democratic process poses many problems and dilemmas. Perhaps the difficulties will increase as the process develops, though I am sure that there are no alternatives to it. Even if tensions even more serious than those of the present occur, that course is irreversible now. Nevertheless it would be a mistake for the West to intend to exploit those tensions in order to exert pressures. Sometimes even positive pressures can have negative effects. This is why the initiative of the four-way conference must be appreciated: It moves in the right direction and does not alter the balance of forces, which is the most important thing.

[Frescobaldi] Let us move on to Yugoslavia. It has felt forgotten since the heyday of Titoism. Some people here say that Poland and Hungary have usurped its place in the West's attentions. All this, at a time when the country seems on the edge of the abyss. What are your demands for resolving these terrible straits?

[Loncar] Nobody can ignore the worth of the Polish and Hungarian reform, but this must not diminish the significance that the Yugoslav experiment had at the time. For a long time we tried to reconcile economic development with political democratization. But in the past 10 years the process has entered a phase of stagnation at the same time as Western Europe has made major progress. Now we lack capital and our foreign debt prevents us from refuelling. Italy is giving an example of understanding. The newly concluded agreement points to new forms of cooperation.

[Frescobaldi] Actually the difficulties concerning aid to Yugoslavia stem from its very system. The rivalries between the republics are an obstacle to investments. The latest loan granted by Italy has not been used. The present Markovic government is doing its utmost amid a disastrous situation, but in Serbia some people attack him simply because he is the Croatian premier.

[Loncar] Yes, it is true. Many of our difficulties stem from local bureaucracy. This is why we need a new constitution. It is a matter not only of amendments but of the entire system. In Yugoslavia there is now as much freedom as you could want, but the democratic institutions are lacking. Everyone agrees on recognizing political pluralism; the arguments are about how to implement it.

[Frescobaldi] Meanwhile the country gives the impression of running adrift. It is a paradoxical situation: Yugoslavia's unity seems to be of more importance abroad than it is to the Yugoslavs themselves.

[Loncar] Perhaps this stems largely from the way the international situation has evolved. Since Helsinki the external threats have no longer seemed imminent and, as we know, Yugoslavs unite at times of danger. Everything seems to be spiralling: The economic difficulties cause social tensions, and these in turn exacerbate the ethnic tensions due also to the differing levels of development. This is why there is pressing need for a democratization of the institutions, since only thus will the problems be resolved. As for political trials, I hope that there will be fewer and fewer of them in Yugoslavia, in fact that there will be none.

Micunovic Tenders Resignation From LCY

LD2709152189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in English 0536 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—Early this morning Vukasin Micunovic tendered his resignation as a member in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee. He cited tiredness and his age as reasons for resigning.

The LCY Central Committee will not be asked to consider the resignation today.

Fight Against Inflation Takes Aim at Causes

AU2509194489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 89 p 3

[TANJUG report on interview with Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, published in the Rome IL MESSAGGERO on 16 September: "The Economy Is Recovering"]

[Text] Rome, 16 Sep—"We are already fighting against inflation. We want to use a therapy that will eliminate the causes and not just the consequences. This is the essence of the government's program of overall reform."

This was stated by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, in an interview with the Italian newspaper IL MESSAGGERO prior to today's meeting with the Italian prime minister, Giulio Andreotti.

The text of the interview that IL MESSAGGERO is carrying in today's edition says the following:

[Question] It is being said in Belgrade that the government will be adopting new anti-inflationary measures at the end of the month. Does this therefore mean that blood and tears are the only way out of the crisis?

[Markovic] The government already has its program of overall reform: a plan for the reform of the whole of our society, from the economic to the political, and for the very mechanism of reform. Monetary and taxation measures and measures in the area of credit and relations with the foreign countries will be applied. Finally, modern market methods will be used.

[Question] However, prices are galloping at the rate of 900 percent a year. Is this a worrying statistic?

[Markovic] Of course we are worried. We are already fighting against inflation. We want to use a therapy that will eliminate the causes and not just the consequences. Yugoslavia is burdened by great deficits in enterprises, banks, and the public sector. These are concealed deficits.

Social Consensus

[Question] Will you bring to the light of day those ills that have pervaded every pore of the system?

[Markovic] I will give you an example. The law that we have adopted forces banks to be set up as joint stock companies. Those who want to invest their capital in a bank will now have a realistic picture of its liabilities. We can now say what should be financially saved and what should go into bankruptcy. The same applies for banks as for enterprises.

[Question] In essence, Yugoslavia is sketching its map of its deficit "holes."

[Markovic] Exactly.

[Question] Will you succeed in gaining a "social consensus," the support of workers, officials, and ordinary people for the austerity measures when the crisis has already threatened their standard of living to such an extent?

[Markovic] All the measures that the government has undertaken are directed toward a new social system. We have already liberalized prices, imports, pay, and the use of foreign currency by citizens.

[Question] So a "social consensus" already exists?

[Markovic] We have not had the kind of results that we have now for years. Production has increased by 2.5 percent in the last 12 months. We have liberalized 87 percent of all imports, and supplies to the market are better.

[Question] Are exports also on the rise?

[Markovic] From January to August, exports rose by an average of 14.2 percent per month, especially exports to Western countries. We have not had this in the history of Yugoslavia. All this was achieved through liberalization.

[Question] Have foreign currency reserves increased?

[Markovic] Foreign currency reserves have increased to $5 billion and by $2.5 billion in the last 6 months alone. However, in June last year Yugoslavia was unable to regularly pay back its debts!

[Question] The foreign debt remains one of the largest in Europe....

[Markovic] It has fallen to less than $18 billion, but consider the fact that others owe us $4 billion.

[Question] However, personal incomes are low.

[Markovic] They were falling for 10 years and they are now rising at a rate of 9.2 percent per month in real terms.

[Question] So economic circumstances are no longer so bleak; are there indicators of recovery?

[Markovic] To make it clear I will say that we have managed to create conditions in which it is possible to apply even stricter measures.

[Question] Of what type?

[Markovic] Reduction in spending, credit restrictions, and incomes increases only on the basis of increased production and not indexation. We have reduced levies on the importation of finished products in order to bring Yugoslav enterprises that have a monopoly into a competition situation.

What Will Happen to Self-Management?

[Question] And self-management? What will happen to the economic model that Tito loved the most and the one that the Italian left admired. Will it end up being shelved?

[Markovic] The denial of a market system prevented self-management from fully coming to the fore. We are now working toward the free competition of ownership—social, private, and mixed. Self-management must show itself to be capable of using these conditions and prove that it is able to pull us out of the crisis. Therefore, self-management must go through this competition.

[Question] In this program, the government is requiring Yugoslavs to work more.

[Markovic] More and better! Above all differently and in a more organized way with dependence on technological achievements. Our aim is to increase the total efficiency of the economy while further developing democracy.

[Question] In a word, Yugoslavia wants to simultaneously reform politics and the economy?

[Markovic] On the one hand we want greater efficiency in the economy, and on the other, more democracy in the political field.

[Question] Will the austerity measures not intensify the interethnic conflicts that are smoldering in Yugoslavia even further?

[Markovic] The introduction of a unified economic system and a democratic political system is in the interests of all the peoples. New laws will facilitate the mobility of the work force and capital, which is something that has so far not existed.

[Question] The Serbian leader, Slobodan Milosevic, says about you, a Croat: "Markovic and I are not enemies," but what would you say to this?

[Markovic] I can say the same, that we are not at all enemies.

[Question] But your programs differ.

[Markovic] Everyone can have their own program. We cannot fight for democracy and forbid others to freely put forward their own program.

Who Is More Important: The Party or the Government?

[Question] What is more important in Yugoslavia, the government or the party?

[Markovic] The government has its role which is established in the Constitution, and it is accountable solely to the federal assembly, basically to the people. The party represents a part of the people and is also accountable to this part. The government is not accountable to the party, nor is the party accountable to the government.

[Question] Will Gorbachev succeed in reforming the USSR?

[Markovic] I sincerely hope so. Of course, he will have to overcome many difficulties: the economic crisis, the excessively huge bureaucracy, the power of the apparatus, the way of thinking, and the national problems that develop into nationalisms after democratization.

[Question] What can Italy do to help its neighboring and friendly country which is in difficulties?

[Markovic] You are a member of the European Community and the seven most industrially developed countries. Italy can help in these forums so that real support is given to our reform.

[Question] And in the bilateral context?

[Markovic] Italy can help us above all to put into practice the memorandum on cooperation and development. In other words, to invest in various projects and carry out a transfer of technology.

[Question] Is there a joint interest in saving the Adriatic?

[Markovic] It is in the interest of both countries to rescue and develop the Adriatic.

[Question] What do you think about Andreotti?

[Markovic] This is a man of exceptional qualities who is very wise and who has always been the best at managing to integrate the different interests in crisis situations in Italy when a government has to be set up.

'Encouraging Results' Seen in Early Reforms

LD2209203989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1830 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia cannot surmount the current crisis by merely correcting the existing system. The only way to achieve this is by creating a totally new economic system and developing political democracy, Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic stated today.

At a meeting with economists from more than 200 Yugoslav enterprises at the Zagreb autumn fair today, Markovic said that in the first phase of the reform encouraging results have been achieved. So far some 86 per cent of prices and 87 per cent of imports have been liberalized. The production has increased owing to the stimulation of [words indistinct] supply of the domestic market is better and wages are also continually increasing.

Figures for the first half of this month show that exports to hard currency markets rose 9.1 per cent. Taking into account the exchange rates of foreign currencies, the real increase of exports is 15 per cent higher than in the same period last year. At the same time imports rose 20 per cent.

In the last eight months Yugoslavia paid off 2.3 billion dollars in annuities and interest on its external debt which is in excess of 18 billion dollars. In the same period short-term credits were reduced by 470 million dollars. Yugoslav foreign currency reserves currently stand at five billion 150 million dollars. According to Markovic such favourable trends have not been recorded in a long time.

Markovic stressed that structural changes are already underway in the Yugoslav economy. He illustrated this by the growing number of small firms and the adjustment of the existing enterprises to the conditions of market economy.

Markovic warned, however, that the exact deficit in banking, public sector and enterprises is still not known. He said that this will be established shortly and in the next phase of the reform steps towards an economic recovery will be taken. Besides, the reform of the banking system will be carried out parallelly. The law on money and securities market is pending adoption. Markovic also announced changes as a result of which home trade will be more independent.

In the second phase of the reform enterprises will have to [words indistinct] laws, so that their survival will depend on their ability to increase productiveness, promote technology and design and change relations between management and self-management structures, Markovic said.

Markovic also stressed the determination of the Yugoslav government to stay on the reform course and, by adopting new systemic laws, complete the new economic system by the end of the year. In this he received an unreserved support from Yugoslav economists.

Pancevski Opens Svetozarevo Celebration 22 Sep

Says 'Committed' to Market Economy

LD2209165489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1056 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Svetozarevo, Yugoslavia, Sept 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is firmly committed to a market economy based not only on social property but other forms of property as well, Yugoslav party president Milan Pancevski said in this central Serbian town today.

Opening a celebration commemorating Svetozar Markovic (1846- 1875), founder of the socialist movement in Serbia, Pancevski stressed that the current social crisis in Yugoslavia does not mean a global negation of socialism, its contents and prospects.

Pancevski said that changes in the political system must not impinge on the fundamental achievements and values of the socialist revolution—the federal system,

self-management, independence and a non-aligned foreign policy, and the equality of national and nationalities—all making up the historical foundations of the Yugoslav community.

Let this be a reply to all who are pressing for changing internal and external frontiers of the country, the constitutional status of its federal units (six republics and two autonomous provinces) and the federal system of Yugoslavia, he said.

The League of Communists, which does not seek a monopoly in society, advocates pluralism of ideas, views and opinions, but it sees no prospect in a multiparty system in which it itself would have to become a party, Pancevski said.

Sees Crisis Not Negating Socialism

AU2209191289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] The Svetozar Gatherings, a traditional festivity devoted to the work of Svetozar Markovic, first Serbian socialist, opened in Svetozarevo today. The theme of the scientific gathering is: Svetozar Markovic and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women. The gathering was opened by Milan Pancevski, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The opening was also attended by Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia; Petar Skundric, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; and Zorka Klemenc-Krek, president of the Women of Yugoslavia. Mirjana Trajkovic reports:

The present crisis is not and cannot be a general negation of socialism, Milan Pancevski said when opening the Svetozar Gatherings. For the League of Communists, Pancevski said, the least acceptable are the theses proclaiming socialism an ideologically doctrinaire or even politically voluntarist creation, in which a new crude bourgeois ideological dogmatism can be recognized: It proclaims capitalism to be the peak and the ultimate of civilization and progress.

Speaking about changes in the political system, Pancevski stressed that one should not touch the basic achievements of the revolution. This is the only reply to those who advocate changes in the internal and external borders of Yugoslavia, the constitutional position of the republics and provinces, and the federal system in the country.

One of the essential conditions for a successful reform of the economic system is the quickest and most efficient mastering of grave inflation. This question has a strategic and not only a current economic, social, and political significance, Pancevski assessed and added it is essential at this moment to attain a general social consensus on a program to reduce inflation.

Further in his speech, Pancevski pointed out the significance of strengthening the interethnic relations in Yugoslavia.

[Begin Pancevski recording] Unless the League of Communists and all the progressive forces comprehend that the struggle against all aspects of nationalism in all its colors, in every community, and in every case, means the struggle for reform, or rather for socialism, democracy, and Yugoslavia, they must bear historical responsibility for blocking the way out of the crisis, for preventing true reforms, and for wrecking Yugoslavia, and thus for attacks on the national identity, affirmation, and sovereignty of all the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. [end recording]

An essential precondition for a successful preparation and conduct of the 14th Extraordinary Congress is the unity of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Milan Pancevski stressed and added:

[Begin Pancevski recording] Unless the League of Communists ensures unity on strategic questions of our further development, I think that we can hardly reach a quick way out of the crisis and the realization of the reform undertakings, for I think that the differences present are not an expression of true strategic precepts of the workers class of Yugoslavia and all the peoples and nationalities, but rather an expression of partial interests made absolute, or an expression of precepts that essentially deviate from the ideology, the program, and the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

All this together may objectively lead to a further loss of confidence in the League of Communists and the weakening of its leading ideopolitical and cohesive role in society. This jeopardizes the basic values and achievements of our society. [end recording]

From the speech by the President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, we also select a passage on the question of political pluralism:

[Begin Pancevski recording] Not tending toward a social monopoly, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia strives within its socialist orientation for a pluralism of ideas, views, and opinions, and at the same time, it does not see the prospects for further development in a multi-party system in which it would have to become a party [stranka] itself.

Instead of exhausting ourselves in discussions about party and non-party pluralism, we must strengthen action unity in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia itself and in society, enhance the integrating ideological role of the League of Communists, open the ways for progressive ideas and initiatives, build a free and democratic dialogue on all social contradictions and processes, and with our initiative and actual social changes, we must make a practical contribution to the changes in social relations toward a richer, more humane, and democratic life. [end recording]

This morning, Milan Pancevski, Bogdan Trifunovic, and Petar Skundric inspected the new Juhor meat plant, and afterwards had talks at the cables plant with the economic and political aktiv on the situation in the country.

Admiral Simic Views Role of Military

LD2909224189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2105 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Split, Yugoslavia, Sept 29 (TANJUG)—Admiral Petar Simic said in this Adriatic town today that he regards speculation as to who owns the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) as an attack on it.

The Army, as its name says, belongs to Yugoslavia and the people, he said. It is equally Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian, [word indistinct], Montenegrin, Macedonian, he told a party conference of the military-naval region of Split in his capacity as president of the Presidency of the League of Communists in the JNA.

He strongly criticised disagreement between certain federal units as generator of an ever deeper crisis. He pointed out that political relations in particular are becoming a hindrance to the country's progress.

Speaking about amendments to the Constitution of Slovenia, which the Slovenian Assembly passed on Wednesday, Simic said they represented a "blow to the Yugoslav Constitution".

Simic said he disagrees with the view that the JNA is the only factor of stability in the country. Another stability factor is the working class which justly demands an end to the crisis as soon as possible, he said.

9th Army Party Conference To Convene in Nov

LD2509203289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1443 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—Members of the Committee of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia [LCY] Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] decided unanimously today to hold the ninth conference of the LCY Organization in the JNA on 23 and 24 November in Belgrade. Petar Simic, president of the Presidium of the Committee of the LCY Organization in the JNA, said that this date would leave Communists in the Army sufficient time to take part in the debate on the documents for the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY which should be made available for discussion in the middle of October.

Army Party Organization Opposes Nationalism

LD2709222889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1018 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Zagreb, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—We support those orientations which are for the removal of all political solutions which threaten the federal system of the country, introduce elements of confederalism, and stimulate bureaucratic disintegration. We oppose an administrative-bureaucratic interpretation of the autonomy of the republics and provinces and the neglect of their responsibility for the future and the development of Yugoslavia as a whole. Hence we do not support anyone's stances, unless they serve general Yugoslav stances.

This was stressed today at the conference of the LCY Organization in the Fifth Army District, at which the main guidelines were established for the ideo-political activity of Communists of this environment in the period ahead.

We do not have a milder expression for the ever more frequent attempts to dispute the concept of all-people's defence and social self-protection, the place and role of the Yugoslav People's Army, and the accomplishments of Comrade Tito, than counter-revolutionary endangering of Yugoslav unity. We shall relate to them in practical political action with such an orientation, it was said at this gathering, at which it was stressed in particular that nationalism represents the greatest danger to the present and future of Yugoslavia.

Tupurkovski Receives Suspended Militiamen

AU2809203589 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Sep 89 p 6

[TANJUG report: "One Is Free To Think About Problems"]

[Text] Skopje, 23 Sep—The talks which were started between the eight workers of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Macedonia who have recently been suspended, and Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency from this republic, continued in the Macedonian Assembly today.

During the talks, it was said that the decision of the republican secretary for internal affairs, Jovan Trpenovski, on placing "at his disposal," that is to say suspending, as many as eight workers of the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs without any explanation is legally untenable.

Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency, said that he cannot agree with repression as a method of resolving contentious questions, and stressed that it is unacceptable for somebody (in this case the eight workers of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs) to be constrained from thinking about social problems. According to Vasil Tupurkovski, the suspension of the eight workers of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs is an act of political repression which encroaches upon the heart of the clash between the democratically oriented forces in society and those that are in favor of preserving the status quo. The measures undertaken were based on the confusion over responsibility for the destabilization of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Macedonia.

BORBA Views Macedonian Security Problems

AU2809180189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23-24 Sep 89 p 2

[Dragan Nikolic report: "Disagreement Between the Government and the Police"]

[Text] What gives Macedonia the most problems—Serbian nationalism, which is presented as the "permanent exporter of revolution," or "anti-Serbian feeling" as a form of Macedonian nationalism?

According to reports leaking out of the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs, party activity in this service, once positively assessed by the Macedonian party leadership, is now being assessed as a game of "workers from the anti-bureaucratic kitchen outside the republic" (the principled coalition). The workers have even been suspended because of this. Since they are holders of various posts, this in fact suspends party and self-managing life in the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs and a "state of emergency" has in fact been introduced. The strict course of the republican secretary in Skopje is interpreted as "instilling fear." It is claimed that the demand that the party activists "prove that they are innocent" (that they are not "workers in the principled coalition") is associated with the Bolshevik idyll whereby everyone is obliged to prove daily in words and deeds that they are devoted, and thereby innocent. Whoever does not demonstrate this for just a day becomes at best the object of suspicion, or else the object of criticism and self-criticism. The truth is that more is often demanded of our governments than they are objectively capable of, however it is just as true that they are expected to show that they are most capable in the field of repression. The Communists of the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs have demanded that the accountability of the government be established for the "serious economic situation in the republic," to which they have a right even though they may also be in "government and party service." After all, their initiative is included in the assembly procedure. In a democratic society, after all, the government exists in order to render account of itself. By making the economy and political entities independent, it will in future be less and less able to proclaim its critics as "national enemies." It will increasingly operate within its own field and more frequently render account of itself. It will of course have to renounce the "handy police" just as it has already to a considerable extent renounced the "handy bank."

The case of the suspension of the party activists in the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs widely raises the question of the relationship between "the party and state" in state organs, particularly since the marriage between the party and state has been dissolved, if only among themselves. The question has also been raised of whether the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs is a closed institution in which party activists are persecuted because they want to open up party activity to the public. Especially since the "handy police" has in the past "flagrantly violated human rights"—as the republican Assembly was at one time informed by Veselinka Malinska, president of a commission for investigating police abuses—and even more recently, did this when, at the initiative of the now suspended party activists, several leading people in the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs were relieved of their posts. It is being shown that the service has been isolated from the public (supposedly because of its specific nature and function) precisely because it constantly regenerates various abuses and privatizations. Therefore a commission was set up in the republican Assembly to oversee and control the State Security Service. The fact that this body has in fact not begun to work shows how much resistance there is to opening up to the public the tasks that are specific to this service.

That this is true is shown to a certain extent shown by articles in Skopje newspapers about alleged drastic examples of political pressure from Serbia on some economic organizations in Macedonia to give loans, hold "meetings of support," and so on. It has been shown that the blackmail telegrams on which the whole of this story was based simply do not exist. There is, of course, the latent danger of "political blackmail" (like, for example, the well-known boycott of goods). It is possible that such political allusions are made in chats with business friends which could have the effect of "psychological pressure." However, it seems that our situation is such that it is never inappropriate for the press to sow a little irrational fear of an economically stronger neighbor. It is also possible that there is sometimes the desire to shift Macedonia's "nonaligned position" in Yugoslav confrontations toward the "unprincipled coalition." If a satisfactory level of "Serbian political aggression" existed in the Macedonian economy, or "anti-Serbian feeling" among the Macedonian people, the stories about non-existent blackmail telegrams would not even have been launched.

The Macedonian public is very sensitive to any, even the slightest, encroachment on the Macedonian national identity. After all, in the last 50 years, the Macedonians have been part of three "great Balkan states." There is not one single Macedonian who would want any of this to be repeated. It can also be assumed that "the democrats in the handy police" who are otherwise demanding that this police be de-mythologized and thereby made responsive to the public (to become the legal police of society) and completely de- ideologized (in order to be the police of society with political pluralism) precisely because the Macedonian public is allergic to any scheming behind its back, have acquired the label of workers in the "anti-bureaucratic kitchen" whose final goal is the "creation of a greater Serbia." This is assumed because the "party democrats" should demonstrate that they are not "in a pact with the devil," in order to free themselves of the accusation, and the best proof of this is to accept the stand of the republican secretariat that "they are becoming the soldiers of the party," that is "the party police," which they have in fact rejected and because of which they have actually been suspended.

Serbian and Macedonian nationalism definitely play a certain role in Macedonian democratic fermentations. The ideas about the Macedonians being southern Serbs causes revolt. Revolt was also caused by Bosko Smancoski equating, in his open letter to A. Kolendic in NOVA MAKEDONIJA, the Chetnik leader Babunski who exterminated "pro-Bulgarians" in Macedonia after the World War I, with the most important individuals in the Macedonian nation like Djorca Petrov, Dama Grujev, Nikola Karev, and others who were, according to Smaceski, "Bulgarian jannissaries" in contrast to Babunski. The leading Macedonian expert, Gane Todorovski has written that this is a "scandalous eruption of Macedonia-phobia" and the well-known Macedonian historian, Manol Pandevski has said that this was a "diversion," "a malicious portrayal of the history of the Macedonian people, and the "sowing of a national schism." If one needs to answer the question why—it could be said that Macedonia has always seen its future in Yugoslavia and that fear for Yugoslavia has recently prevailed.

Comparison of Slovene Presidium Proceedings

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Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 19 September on page 3 carries a TANJUG-attributed 1,600-word report, entitled "There is No Deviation From the Proposed Amendments," on the proceedings of the session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, which was held in Ljubljana on 18 September. Comparison with the TANJUG report titled "Further on Slovene LC Debates Over Constitution" published in the 19 September East Europe DAILY REPORT reveals the following six additional paragraphs at the end of the item:

Page 73, column 2, last paragraph ends with : ...SR of Slovenia. (Additional paragraphs added)

Milos Prosenc assessed the possibility, in the present situation and climate of political tensions, of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia putting these problems on the agenda of some of its sessions as another attempt to portray Slovenia as representing a danger to the survival of Yugoslavia.

Andrej Marinc saw as the main problem the differences between the arguments that are supported in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and those that have been appearing in certain documents outside the republic. "I mean documents in Serbia, above all. This obviously involves a case of prior preparations for the creation of a Serbian concept of the federation," said Marinc.

Concluding the discussion, Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, stressed that the constitutional orientation of the Republic is not to impose its concepts in any way.

The kind of Socialist Republic of Slovenia and SFRY that we want is clearly shown by Slovene public opinion and the League of Communists of Slovenia, added Kucan. That is to say, we only want to contribute to the strengthening of Yugoslavia because when a people remain associated in a community, even despite the right to self-determination, this clearly confirms their readiness to live together.

The debate over these amendments does not only involve questions that are important for the Slovene people, continued Kucan. They are topical for all of the peoples and republics in Yugoslavia. These should also be the central issues in the debates prior to the next congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Kucan gave the initiative for Federal Assembly delegates to actually discuss these problems in the debates on issues regarding the SFRY Constitution. He also pointed out continual incidences that create the impression that Slovenes are destroying Yugoslavia, which, as Kucan claimed, have most often been in the Belgrade press.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia also discussed at today's session the report on the implementation of the directives, stands, and activities of communists in the further development of small businesses in Slovenia. The Presidium also discussed preparations for the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia and the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.